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Speech, Community, and the Formation of Memory

in the Ovidian Exilic Corpus

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Speech, Community, and the Formation of Memory in the Ovidian Exilic Corpus

by

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uxori et filio,
cum gratiis et amore

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Speech, Community, and the Formation of Memory

in the Ovidian Exilic Corpus

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

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At *Tristia* 1.117-120, Ovid refers directly to his *Metamorphoses*, equating his exilic situation with that of characters from his *magnum opus*, stating that his *parvus liber* should report to those in Rome that the *vultus* of his fortune may now be listed among the *mutata corpora*. This statement, placed in the opening poem of Ovid's exilic project, is invested with programmatic value and begs the following questions: How has Ovid been changed? Why does he compare himself to characters from the *Metamorphoses*? What exactly is the payoff – for Ovid and the audience – of such an intertextual move?

This dissertation explores these questions, arguing that this line is central to Ovid's conception of his entire 'exilic project'. By equating himself with his earlier characters, Ovid makes himself a character who undergoes the same transformations as they did; thus, his exilic transformation should be interpreted as occurring in the same fashion as transformations in the *Metamorphoses*. Those transformations, it is argued, were conceived of in terms of speech, community, and memory: whenever a character is transformed, that character suffers speech loss, is exiled from community, and is forgotten. In his exilic project, Ovid portrays himself as passing through these same steps. Furthermore, Ovid depicts his transformation in this way with an eye towards memory: reformulating how his exile would be perceived by his audience and how he, as a poet, would be remembered by posterity.

In Chapter One, I begin by 1) setting the study within current scholarly trends and 2) examining what it meant to be 'speechless' in Ovid's Rome. In Chapter Two, I set out the model for speech loss and community for the characters of the *Metamorphoses*. In Chapter Three, I turn to how Ovid applies this model to himself in his exilic project. In Chapter Four, I connect this model to memory, arguing that Ovid focuses on this model of speech and community because he, as an exile, is attempting to place himself back within the social frameworks of his community not only to be remembered, but to be remembered as he wants to be remembered.

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Chapter I: Introduction

"To hide in this way was to be stripped of all self-respect. To be told to hide was a humiliation. Maybe, he thought, to live like this would be worse than death."

"Then there was the publishing front, where he could take nothing for granted in spite of all his work. Publication itself was still an issue. It was not certain that he could continue in the life he had chosen, not certain that he would always find willing hands to print and distribute his work."

These quotations, taken from Salman Rushdie's recently published autobiographical account of his time spent as an exile, *Joseph Anton: A Memoir*, represent only some of the most recent iterations of the experience of exile.[1] Rushdie, placed under a fatwā in 1989 by Ayatollah Rohollah Khomeini for perceived insults against Islam in his *The Satanic Verses*, was forced both into hiding and into the adoption of a pseudonym: Joseph Anton. For the intensely proud and social author, the exile he describes is crushing. His identity as individual and, more importantly, as author was effectively erased: no longer could he hope to publish books or to converse with his society (both professional and personal). He had to be erased from his society, was forced to be forgotten, was made to 'play dead' simply to save himself and his loved ones from the constant death threats resulting from the fatwā.

In addition to the obvious similarities (which will be discussed below) with that of Roman literature's most famous exile, Ovid, Rushdie's account also speaks to the larger fascination with and proliferation of exile literature in modernity; for, exile has been "one of the most productive literary topics in twentieth century literature" (Gaertner 2007, 1). Perhaps the two developments most to blame for this increase in interest are 1)

[1] Many thanks to Dr. L.M. White for bringing this modern reference to my attention.

globalization and 2) the shift of the meaning of artist and production in both the modern and postmodern sense. To the first point, the ability of electronic mass media to "collapse space and time barriers in human communication [and] to enable people to communicate on a global scale" has greatly aided in the proliferation of writings from the 'fringes' of society or from an 'exiled' writer back to his/her native land (Boldor 2005, n.1). Such emphasis features prominently in writings from the diaspora of expatriates, such as Thomas Mann, Nabokov, or Brodsky.[2] As for the second point, shifting notions of artist and production have led to the use of the rhetoric of displacement, exile, and otherness to describe the authorial condition. Boldor (2005) sums up how this idea played out in terms of the modern and postmodern, stating: "Modernism relied on displacement being rooted in the idea that 'traditional' forms of art, literature, social organization and daily life had become outdated, and that it was therefore essential to sweep them aside and [to] reinvent culture – obviously, a vision diverging from 'normal' social trends. Postmodernism took these ideas even further, with its focus upon the personal, regional, etc., in short, on the alternative" (n.4). Related to this movement is the adoption of exile as a common metaphor for alienation in intellectual literature, as the intelligentsia of modernity and postmodernity frequently sought to define their own position in humanity or the human condition in general as exilic or outcast (e.g., Nietzsche, Sartre, Adorno, Nabokov).[3]

[2] The writings on these authors are too numerous to recount here. However, these may act as starting points: Bevan et al. (1990), Roth-Souton (1994) and Spalek (1976). For the relationship between these authors – including Rushdie – to Ovid, see Kennedy 2002.

[3] Nietzsche, Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe edd. G. Colli and Montinari vol. VII 3 p Fragmente Herbst 1884 bis Herbst 1885, 412-3. Adorno: Minima Moralia: Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben (Berlin, 1951). Cf. also, Goldhill (2000), 1-7 and Eagleton, T. (1970).

Exile Literature and Classical Studies

Against this background, the interest and discussion of exile has moved into the Classics and has resulted in a tremendous growth in scholarship on exile and, in particular, on the three most prominent writers who went into exile, the "exulum trias"[4] Cicero, Ovid, and Seneca the Younger.[5] Apart from the historical study of Grasmück (1978), there have been three major voices in the discussion of exile from a literary angle: Doblhofer (1987), Claassen (1999, 2008) and Gaertner (2005, 2006). Doblhofer, perhaps influenced by contemporary studies of exile literature from modernity, discussed the ancient exilic corpus from a psychological angle. He develops the concept of the exilic state as a sickness, an 'Exilkrankheit', that is the universal response to being forced into exile. As evidence of this 'Exilkrankheit', Doblhofer points to the striking similarities ("frappante Übereinstimmungen") between modern and ancient exile literature that help to create an almost identical depiction of exile ("fast identisches Bild").[6] The major similarities of exile literature to which Doblhofer points are particular topoi, such as: the

[4] This term is taken from the famous title of Leopold (1904).

[5] The major discussion of classical exile from an historical approach is still Grasmück (1978). The large psycho-literary analyses of exile literature are Doblhofer (1987) and Claassen (1999). More particular studies on the legal and historical issues of exile in antiquity include: Balogh (1943), Seibert (1979), Cawkwell (1981), Roisman (1982), Crifò (1985), Brown (1988), McKechnie (1989), Sordi et al. (1994), Bearzot (2001), and Forsdyke (2005). More recently, Gaertner (2006) brings together a collection of essays on exile in the ancient world, particularly from a literary viewpoint.

[6] Doblhofer 66: "Überblickt man das antike und wenigstens einen Teil des modernen Denkens und Fühlens über das Exil, so weit es in den jeweiligen Literaturen faßbar wird, so stößt man auf so frappante Übereinstimmungen, daß die Gefahr unreflektierter und kritikloser Gleichsetzung besteht" (If one surveys the ancient and at least part of modern thought and feeling about exile, as far as it can be grasped in the respective literature, one comes to such striking similarities that there is a risk of unreflective and uncritical equation); Doblhofer 67: "Die Genese der Exilkrankheit bietet in Alterum und Neuzeit ein fast identisches Bild" (The genesis of 'the exilic condition' in antiquity and modernity paints an almost identical picture).

exile's closeness to death[7], his identification with heroic figures[8], and his loss of the ability to speak in his native language.[9]

Claassen, in both her 1999 and 2008 discussions of exile, builds out from the socio-historical foundations of Grasmück and the psychological arguments of Doblhofer[10], but offers a new schema for organizing and analyzing ancient exilic literature based on grammatical person (e.g., first, second, third).[11] The shift of schema from the traditional, organizing 'genre' of exilic literature aims at analyzing the variety of "modes of presentation" within that genre and at the different styles utilized by the exiled author to attain such *variatio* (Claassen 1999, 15). Through such an analysis of style and *variatio*, Claassen aims at identifying the "feelings of the writer".[12]

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[7] Doblhofer 68-69: "Die Todessehunsucht kann zur Halluzination werden; der Gegensatz zwischen dem Lebenden, der er ist, und dem Toten, welcher der Verbannte sein möchte, spaltet nicht selten die Persönlichkeit" (The yearning for death can be an hallucination: the contrast between the living, which [the exile] is, and the dead, which the exiles would like to be, often splits the exile's personality.)

[8] Doblhofer 67,69 and 261-273, termed "die Selbstheroisierung des Verbannten" (the self-heroization of the exiled); cf. Claassen (1999) 104, who terms it "self-dramatisation".

[9] Doblhofer 68.

[10] Claassen (1999) 1: "Grasmück concentrates, as I do, on the literary reworking of their emotional experience by Cicero, Ovid and Seneca. He stresses the concept of exile as an illness for which sublimation of some kind acts as a cure"; Claassen (1999) 2: "Quellenforshung is not the major object of the work. Of importance is rather the manner in which each exile experiences his condition and the way in which his reaction is put into words". Both of these excerpts emphasize the foundational importance of psychological analysis to her work, as the focus is on the subjective experience of the exile.

[11] Claassen (1999) 2-3: "The main ordering principle of the study hinges, however, on a second and relatively precise meaning of *person: grammatical person*. Discussion will start . . . with the *third grammatical person*, that is, narratives about exiles, 'he' or 'they' . . . in the *Second Stage*, then, discussion will focus on the *second grammatical person*, that is, on dialogue . . . between the exile and another, a 'you-and-I' situation . . . by far the longest section of the work, then, will be devoted to the study of utterances in which the *first grammatical person* predominates. Here the isolating effect of exile is prominent – discussion will concentrate on what is essentially monologue" [all emphasis Claassen's].

[12] Claassen (1999) 15. Claassen (2008), which is focused on the exile literature of Ovid, attempts to identify his true emotional state by answering the question "What did our poet feel?" (7); cf. Claassen (2008) 8: "We still need to ask whether this is Ovid the man speaking, or Ovid's first-person narrator as a 'character', and in what way what the poet depicts is 'true'. We need to deduce emotion behind frequently stylised masks".

The last of the three treatments of ancient exile is that of Gaertner (2006). In contrast to Claassen and Doblhofer, Gaertner eschews psychological evaluations of the authors of exile literature and instead focuses on the topoi used by those authors:

> If there is a tradition of typical complaints about and consolations for exile one cannot assume a direct and simple relation between the psychological condition of exile and the literature written by exiles, but one has to take into account that (a) authors may perceive and present their experience of exile according to pre-existing literary and cultural paradigms, that (b) they may merely style themselves or others as (typical) exiles, and that (c) being an exile obviously presupposes that the banished person accepts the role of an exile imposed by circumstances (Gaertner 2006, 4-5).

Gaertner goes on to challenge the basic assumptions of genre made by both Claassen and Doblhofer, who both seem to have applied modern notions of genre onto ancient exilic texts in order to produce an organized, almost chronological schema, or at the least seem to have neglected the question altogether.[13] In place of the modern conception of genre, Gaertner postulates an "ancient discourse on exile" that was almost a topos unto itself.[14] Whenever exile came up as a topic in a literary work, certain topoi of exile could be employed by the artist and comprehended by the audience irrespective of the performance context or medium of production. For example, when Ovid describes his exile in terms of linguistic and cultural isolation, he need not be describing a

[13] Gaertner (2006) 2-3: "First of all, the English word 'exile' is far more precise than the corresponding Greek and Latin terms . . . Moreover, ancient authors often do not distinguish between exile and other forms of displacement . . . Doblhofer and Claassen have seen this problem, and at least Claassen has sought a solution by adopting a very general definition of 'exile literature' but this evidently leads to a category with somewhat undefined boundaries." Cf. Claassen (1999), 14: "All literary forms which treat exile may therefore, according to the criterion of circumstance, be combined in a generic study of 'the *literature of exile*' . . . Various modes of presentation (traditional genres such as historiography, letters, and poetry – epic, lyric, elegy) occur in the literature I have classified as 'exilic' [emphasis Claassen's].

[14] Gaertner (2006) 4: "Both the distinction between different grammatical persons and the category of 'exile literature' in the sense of 'literature written by exiles' would not be very helpful in describing the relation between Cicero and the historians Livy and Cassius Dio, and, what is worse, they would blind us to the fact that the philosophical consolations on exile . . . There was a tradition of typical complaints about and consolations for exile which was available to Cicero, Livy, and Cassius Dio and which they could put either into their characters' mouth or into their own". Cf. Gaertner (2006) n. 18.

psychological reality for Ovid the author or be alluding to a topos from a 'genre of exilic literature', but he could be tapping into a cultural store of topoi of exilic situation just as a sixth century *iambos* of Solon had done (fr. 36 West).[15]

Exile Literature and Ovidian Studies

Ovid has seemingly been at the center of this type of scholarly debate over the accessibility of an exilic author's emotional state or the veracity of his narrative about his state. Until the last half of the twentieth century, many of the statements Ovid makes in his exile literature were taken as absolute fact through the so-called 'historicistic approach'. L.P. Wilkinson, for example, accepted as true Ovid's statements of inferiority and conversion from a free spirit to a devotee of emperor worship.[16] There is even the anecdote that Sir Ronald Syme carried with him a photograph of an iced-over Black Sea beach that definitively proved that the Ovidian descriptions of Tomis as a wintry wasteland were based in fact (Claassen 2008, 5). The predominance of the historicists

[15] Solon 24 = fr. 36 West:

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὕνεκα ξυνήγαγον
δῆμον, τί τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπαυσάμην;
συμμαρτυροίη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκηι Χρόνου
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
ἄριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγώ ποτε (5)
ὅρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῆι πεπηγότας,
πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρη.
πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον
ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ (10)
χρειοῦς φυγόντας, **γλῶσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν**
ἱέντας, ὡς δὴ πολλαχῆι πλανωμένους·
τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
ἔχοντας, ἤθη δεσποτ<έω>ν τρομ<εο>μένους,
ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα.
(ll. 1-15)

And I, of the reasons why I assembled the people, which of them did I halt before I struck upon it? Let the large noble Mother of Olympian gods, black earth, bear witness to these things in the court of time: I myself once tore up the mortgage-stones that pinned her down everywhere, so she who was formerly in bondage is now free. And I led many who were sold away—some justly, others unjustly—into Athens, the divinely-founded homeland, and I led those who fled from crushing debt, **never speaking the Attic tongue (so far they wandered),** some who were right here in shameful slavery, fearing the whims of their masters. I have given these freedom.

[16] Wilkinson (1955).

began to wane in 1965, with the publication of E.J. Kenney's article, "The poetry of Ovid's exile", which brought to the fore the style and poetics of Ovidian exile literature, throwing into doubt Ovid's assertions that his poetry had declined in quality. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, scholarship, perhaps taking its cue from Kenney's article, began to focus more directly on the poetics of the exile literature, downplaying the historicist tendencies of the previous generations of scholarship[17] by questioning the veracity of Ovid's statements of poetic decline[18], developing theories of *variatio* and organization[19], and drawing connections and allusions to other genres and literary works.[20] Such an increase in scholarly interest has, in the last decade, resulted in a

[17] A good starting point for a handling of the various manners in which recent scholarship has deconstructed historicist arguments is Williams and Walker (1997), a special edition of *Ramus* with articles on multiple methodologies for approaching the exile literature.

[18] Nagle (1980), Williams (1994), Claassen (1999) and Gaertner (2006) all argue that Ovid's insistence on his poetic decline is a fiction with certain literary aims. Nagle argues that the relationship between Ovid's exilic persona and his earlier elegiac works is a close one, stressing that Ovid's decision to return to such amatory themes represents a symbolic break with his immediately preceding works (e.g., *Metamorphoses*) and a continuity with his earlier elegies. Williams argues that the Ovidian creation of such a pose of decline need not be read as a ploy to arouse sympathy in his audience to effect his eventual return to Rome, but rather as an end unto itself, an exercise in *ars gratis artis* that showed Ovid's skill as a *poeta doctus*: "Ovid experiments with the poetic motif of self-depreciation, ... that his use of the motif can be viewed as an end in itself rather than as a means to the utilitarian end of arousing his reader's pity" (52). Claassen (see above) argues that although Ovid's depiction of his exilic situation is, in large part, fictional, the choices that he makes in creating such a depiction allow readers an opportunity to engage in psychoanalysis of the historical Ovid. Gaertner (see above), through a literary analysis of the exile literature, suggests that any differences existing between Ovid's earlier poetry and his exile literature are due to Ovid's indebtedness to both epistolographic conventions and the existing discourses of exilic literature.

[19] Evans (1984) engages in a stylistic analysis of each book of *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, noting similarities in themes, connections between individual poems, and possible organizing principles (e.g., ring structures) employed by Ovid.

[20] Videau-Delibes (1991), Williams (1994), Gibson (1999) and Hinds (2006) represent basic discussions of Ovidian allusions to earlier genres and works. Videau-Delibes, in the same vein as Nagle (n. 17 above), analyzes Ovid's style and motifs in the exile literature and argues that Ovid reappropriates elegiac motifs, aesthetics, and vocabulary for an exilic context, altering their original meaning in an attempt to depict a 'poetics of rupture' that signals a break with his earlier elegy. Gibson, focusing on *Tristia* 2 in particular, argues that Ovid's self-representation in the exile literature is not only a defense of his own poetry but also a tool "to assert his own mastery not just as a poet but also as a reader" (37). In placing emphasis not only on the creation of poetry but also on the reception of poetry, Gibson suggests that Ovid bestows upon the reader an independence from the poet that allows for independence from external forces, such as the emperor; therefore, Ovid's allusions to previous works and close readings of them are ways in which he

seemingly constant stream of new commentaries and monographs on all of the exile literature (see Bibliography for a listing).

Yet, for all the increase in scholarly attention on the truthfulness of Ovid's depiction of himself and his situation, a passage in the *Tristia* seems to have gone unnoticed or, at least, under-analyzed.[21] At the end of the programmatic first poem of *Tristia* 1, Ovid gives explicit instructions to his book of poetry about how his poems from exile should be compared with the rest of his poetic corpus:

himself can be shown to be independent from Augustus and impervious to his exile. Hinds draws connections between the exile literature (in particular, *Tristia* 1.1 and 1.7) and Ovid's earlier *Heroides* and elegy more generally (e.g., Propertius 4.3) to argue that through allusions to previous works (both by Ovid and by others) Ovid attempts to "relate his literary present to his literary past" as a means of keeping his full literary repertoire in the consciousness of Roman readers (415, 428-29). For Williams, see n. 17.

[21] Hinds (2006) 428, comes closest to a detailed discussion of the passage. He suggests that the mention of *fortuna* leads readers to read this passage (along with *Tristia* 1.7) with the portion of the *Metamorphoses* that deals explicitly with Ovid's *fortuna*, the sphragis: "The instruction at *Trist.* 1.1.119-22 is thus quite pointed. In asking the *Metamorphoses* to take on board the sudden transformation of the *vultus* of his own *fortuna*, Ovid clearly has his eye on that section of the *Metamorphoses* which *already has* [emphasis Hinds'] his *fortuna* as its theme: viz. the poem's final nine lines. It is here, if anywhere, that the sorry tale of the change in Ovid's *fortuna* will have to be accommodated; and the effect will be, surely, to put something of a damper on the triumphant spirits of the epic's conclusion".

aspicies illic positos ex ordine fratres,
quos studium cunctos euigilauit idem.
cetera turba palam titulos ostendet apertos,
et sua detecta nomina fronte geret;
tres procul obscura latitantes parte uidebis:
hi quia, quod nemo nescit, amare docent;
hos tu uel fugias, uel, si satis oris habebis,
Oedipodas facito Telegonosque uoces.
deque tribus, moneo, si qua est tibi cura parentis,
ne quemquam, quamuis ipse docebit, ames.
sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae,
nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis.
his mando dicas, inter mutata referri
***fortunae uultum* corpora posse *meae*,**
namque ea dissimilis subito est effecta priori,
flendaque nunc, aliquo tempore laeta fuit.
(*Tr*. 1.107-122)

You will see there [in the bookshelf] your brothers placed in order, all of whom the same zeal composed. The rest of the crowd show their open covers publicly and bear their names with the cover turned aside; but three you will see far off, hiding in a dark part of the shelf because these taught that which no one is ignorant of: how to love. Either flee these or, if you have enough voice, speak in Oedipal or Telegonal strains. About these three I warn you, if you care for your parent at all, so that you won't love one, although it itself will teach you. Also there are fifteen volumes of changed bodies, songs recently snatched from my ashes. To these I ask you to say that the appearance of my fortune is able to be counted among the changed bodies, for the fortune has suddenly been made different from before: now it is lamentable, but was in another time happy.[22]

Two major aspects of this passage are striking, both of which may have import to the debate over Ovidian 'truthfulness' and, more broadly, to the manner in which Ovid conceptualized the poetic aim of his exile literature: 1) the emphasis on *vultus fortunae meae* as the main topic of his exile poetry and 2) the relationship between that *vultus fortunae meae* and the characters (i.e., *mutata corpora*) of the *Metamorphoses*.

To get at the reason why Ovid emphasized *vultus fortunae meae*, one must first start with what the phrase itself means, in particular why Ovid chose to give his fortune a *vultus*.[23] The term *vultus* is one used frequently by Ovid, as a *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*TLL*) search shows that it appears 261 times throughout his poetic corpus. Moreover, as would be expected, the term is particularly prevalent in the *Metamorphoses*, in which it is

[22] All translations are the author's, unless otherwise indicated.
[23] For more on *vultus*, cf. the discussion of Betinni 2010 in Chapter 2 below (p. 92-93)

used 121 times. In the *Metamorphoses*, *vultus* routinely appears in Ovidian depictions of change to emphasize the metamorphosis of the outward appearance of the character. The example of Lycaon from *Metamorphoses* 1 serves as an example of this emphasis on outward change:

in villos abeunt vestes, in crura lacerti: fit lupus et veteris servat vestigia formae; canities eadem est, eadem violentia **vultus**, idem oculi lucent, eadem feritatis imago est. (*Met.* 1.236-39)	Clothes change into hair, arms into legs: he becomes a wolf and preserves the vestiges of his old form; there is the same gray hair, the same violence of expression, the same eyes gleam: there is the same image of savagery.

Here, Ovid depicts the outward transformation of Lycaon, commenting on his gray hair, eyes, and overall outward appearance. The inclusion of *vultus* with *canities* and *oculi* strengthens its identification with outward appearance.

Likewise, the metamorphosis of Actæon in *Metamorphoses* 3 points to the same emphasis:

ut vero **vultus** et cornua vidit in unda, 'me miserum!' dicturus erat: vox nulla secuta est! ingemuit: vox illa fuit, lacrimaeque per ora non sua fluxerunt; mens tantum pristina mansit. (*Meta.* 3.200-203)	Truly, when he saw his appearance and horns in the water, he was about to say, "woe is me!", but no voice followed. He groaned: that was his voice, and tears rolled down cheeks not his own; yet, his mind remained as before.

As in the example of Lycaon, the use of *vultus* in the depiction of Actæon is one based on outward appearance. Actæon looks into the water and sees his *vultus*, as that *vultus* now comes with antlers.

Yet, these two examples also point to another aspect of *vultus* in the *Metamorphoses*: although the *vultus* of a character is changed, the underlying essence of

the character remains unchanged.[24] For Lycaon, although his *vultus* is now that of a wolf, he still maintains the savage personality he had as a man.[25] Likewise, Actæon, although his *vultus* changes from a man's to a deer's, retains his inner identity (*mens tantum pristina mansit*).[26]

If one brings this relationship between *vultus* and outside appearance into the context of *Tristia* 1.1, the truthfulness of Ovid's self-portrayal is thrown into doubt. By making *vultus fortunae meae* the main consideration of his exile literature, Ovid seems to point to the fact that his exile literature presents a *vultus*, an outward appearance, that is subject to change and that hides beneath it whatever truth there may be.[27] Ovid's self-depiction is simply a façade, a poetic covering that conceals the unchanged quintessential substance of the poet. There seems to be no psychological truth to be had here; the exile literature is merely creating a poetic depiction.

The use of *vultus* in the exile literature also points to a similar emphasis on outward appearance.[28] In particular, the mention of *vultus* in *Tristia* 1.7 seems apropos here:

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[24] Boillat, 18-19; Natoli (2009), 3.

[25] Galinsky (1975), 42-47. In particular, p. 45: "The physical characteristics of the personages are subject to change, but their quintessential substance lives on." cf. also de Levita 77ff.

[26] Anderson (1997), ad 3.202-203: "[Ovid] takes pains to comment in both cases on the original mens or human consciousness that survives the metamorphosis inside the animal form." Cf. also Barchiesi (2007), ad 3.198-203: "la bestiale violenza che sta per seguire è quasi superata in crudelà dal contrasto tra conscienza e immagine: così forte da sezionare l'identità del soggetto nel momento in cui la verifica attraverso i sensi, prima la vista poi l'udito" (the bestial violence that is about to follow is almost overcome in cruelty by the contrast between consciousness and image: so strong as to separate the identity of the subject at the moment in which there is verification through the senses, first sight and then hearing).

[27] cf. Forbis 267: "And like so many transformations in the *Metamorphoses*, this one provides a link between his before and after states; his exile poetry is in essence the *fortunae vultum*."

[28] There are 45 instances of *vultus* in the exile literature: *T.* 1.1.120, 1.2.34, 1.2.94, 1.5.27, 1.7.1, 2.88, 2.525, 3.4.37, 3.5.11, 3.8.9, 3.9.21, 4.2.23, 4.2.30, 4.3.9, 4.3.19, 4.3.50, 5.1.40, 5.4.29, 5.4.39, 5.7.17, 5.8.17, 5.8.35, 5.10.47; *Pont*. 1.4.2, 1.10.25, 2.1.28, 2.2.5, 2.2.65, 2.4.8, 2.5.51, 2.8.13, 2.8.21, 2.8.9, 2.8.54, 2.8.60, 3.1.145, 3.1.166, 3.3.13, 3.4.27, 4.1.5, 4.3.7, 4.4.9, 4.4.46, 4.8.13.

Si quis habes nostri similes in imagine **vultus**, deme meis hederas, Bacchica serta, comis. ista decent laetos felicia signa poetas: temporibus non est apta corona meis. (*Tr.* 1.7.1-4)	If you are one who has images similar to mine in an *imago*, take down the ivy, the Bacchic wreath, from my hair. Those fortunate signs are fitting for happy poets: crowns are not suitable for my times.

In this poem, *vultus* is combined with *imago* to describe a ring with Ovid's portrait or perhaps a bust of Ovid in somebody's library.[29] Both of these possibilities point to the fact that the *vultus* here is an artistic representation, a fictional portrayal of the 'real' Ovid. Moreover, as Hinds has pointed out, this mention of *vultus* is closely linked with our programmatic use in *Tristia* 1.1, as not only is the same term employed, but both contexts are linked with the *Metamorphoses*; in his mention of *vultus* and *imago* in *Tristia* 1.7, Ovid suggests that his audience turn not to this physical *imago*, but to a *maior imago* (1.7.11), the *Metamorphoses*, to remember him.[30] This recalls the close relationship between *vultus* and the *mutata corpora* of the *Metamorphoses* in 1.1. It stands to reason, therefore, that the connotation of *vultus* in 1.7 strengthens the reading of 1.1 as a programmatic statement that Ovid's *vultus*, the very thing Ovid's *parvus liber* was meant to describe, was not a historical portrait, but rather a fictional persona.

In addition, when the *fortunae meae* portion of the phrase is added, Ovid is further removed from consideration. Not only is Ovid indicating that his exile literature deals not with reality but with a changing outward appearance, but he also states that this

[29] Hinds (2006) 429; Tissol (2000) 84; Cf. Luck, *ad loc.*: "Büsten berühmter griechischer und römischer Autoren standen in öffentlichen und privaten Bibliotheken" (Busts of famous Greek and Roman authors stood in public and private libraries).

[30] Hinds (2006), 429: "Someone at Rome has a portrait of Ovid, an *imago* (1.7.1), in the form of a bust or in the form of a ring: Ovid is grateful for the sign that he is not being forgotten. But for a *better* portrait of him, a *maior imago* (1.7.11), the addressee should turn to the *carmina* of the *Metamorphoses*: this is what Ovid really wants to be remembered by in his absence – even though, as he goes on to explain at some length, he has not had the time to put the finishing touches to the poem".

changing appearance belongs to his *fortuna* and not to him.[31] Indeed, throughout the *Tristia*, Ovid keeps coming back to the trope of his changing fortune. In *Tristia* 1.5, Ovid reflects back on times when he enjoyed a fortune that had a *vultu sereno*. Likewise, in *Tristia* 5.8, Ovid warns an enemy not to rejoice too much in Ovid's exile, as fortune is naturally ever-changing (*sed modo laeta venit, vultus modo sumit acerbos, / et tantum constans in levitate sua est*, 17-18).

Therefore, because of the distance Ovid creates between himself and the content of the exile literature, Claassen and Doblhofer's attempts at ascertaining Ovid's true feelings or analyzing his psychological reality are futile at best. That was simply not Ovid's stated purpose. Yet, that does not mean that Ovid's authorial intent should not be pursued. After all, Ovid made the conscious decision to describe his exile literature as a façade or outward appearance.

This, in fact, brings us to the second aspect of this passage: the connection between *vultus* and the *mutata corpora* of the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid gives his *parvus liber* explicit instructions to tell his fellow books that the appearance of Ovid's fortune should be counted among the changed bodies of the *Metamorphoses*. This small phrase has led scholars to believe that some part of Ovid's depiction of his *vultus* resembled that of a character(s) of the *Metamorphoses*. Nearly all of these scholars have equated the exilic Ovid with a character from the *Metamorphoses* that closely resembles him.

Samuel Huskey, in particular, has shown the similarities drawn by Ovid between his depiction as an exile and the portrayal of multiple characters from the

[31] cf. Hinds (2006), 428ff. (n. 21 above).

Metamorphoses. For example, Huskey has found striking similarities between Ovid's self-depiction and that of Philomela from *Metamorphoses* 6 and has pointed to the fact that both were taken away to a barbarous land against their will and were robbed of the ability to speak.[32] For Huskey, in Philomela Ovid found "an effective model for the depiction of his exilic persona". Likewise, he has argued for similarities between Ovid's self-depiction of himself and that of Jason[33] (*Metamorphoses* 7), Palinurus[34] (*Metamorphoses* 14), and Palamedes[35] (*Metamorphoses* 13).

In addition to Huskey's efforts, several scholars have drawn multiple similarities between Ovid's self-depiction and his portrayal of artists in the *Metamorphoses*. Judith Hallett has shown the similarities between Ovid in *Tristia* 4.10 and Pygmalion in *Metamorphoses* 10, as both are described as partaking in the same artistic process in the creation of art in their respective media of poetry and sculpture.[36] Likewise, Stephan Hinds and Allison Sharrock have both drawn attention to the links between the exilic Ovid and the great inventor Daedalus from *Metamorphoses* 8, both of whom were

[32] Huskey (2001b): "Ovid and Philomela have been removed from civilized places to barbarous lands; their conditions are excruciating because of the silence imposed upon them; and both of them employ textual means to overcome this silence. Ovid has found in Philomela an effective model for the depiction of his exilic persona". For more on Ovid's depiction of Philomela, see Chapter 2 below. Cf. also: Richlin (1992), de Luce (1993) 313-315, Forbis (1997), Segal (1998), Hardie (2005).

[33] Huskey (2001a).

[34] Huskey (2009): "In the *Tristia* [Ovid] identifies with Palinurus, Aeneas' expert helmsman who unexpectedly falls overboard, dies at the hands of a barbarous people, lives as an outcast among the dead, but finally finds eternal fame.
By comparing himself to Palinurus, Ovid acknowledges that he will not return from the underworld, as Aeneas does. Indeed, like Palinurus, he eventually resigns himself to being an inhabitant of the land of the dead. Nevertheless, he consoles himself with the idea of having an everlasting name, which was, after all, the stated goal of nearly everything that he wrote".

[35] Huskey (2001b): "Explaining his fear of the *Caesaream domum* and its residents, Ovid likens himself to sailors who steer clear of the Capherian rocks (*Tr*. 83-84). This is an allusion to the story of Nauplius, Palamedes' father . . . Ovid, who frequently denies that he committed a *crimen* (e.g., *Tr*. 3.2.5, 4.3.47), has found a sympathetic character in Palamedes, who should have had a blameless death (*letum sine crimine*, *Met*. 13.57)".

[36] Hallett (2009).

supreme artificers in exile across the sea and were attempting to return to their homeland through their powers of creation.[37]

However, although all of these connections between Ovid's self-depiction in the *Tristia* and particular characters in the *Metamorphoses* have some degree of validity and have added much to how Ovid's exilic poetry has been read, analyzing the relationship between Ovid's exilic self-depiction and the *Metamorphoses* in terms of which characters Ovid resembles does not exhaust the ways in which one can compare the texts. One can also look thematically at how Ovid's self-depiction compares to the *Metamorphoses*. In essence, when analyzing Ovid's relationship to his *mutata corpora*, one can shift the focus from individual *corpora* to the method behind how they become *mutata*.

One manner in which this can be done is to examine the ways in which characters in the *Metamorphoses* become *mutata* and to compare their methods of change to the manners in which Ovid chooses to create his self-depiction in the exile literature. If one analyzes the connection between Ovid's self-depiction and his stories of change in the *Metamorphoses*, a pattern does arise that pervades both the entirety of the *Metamorphoses* and the exile literature: the loss of speech and subsequent removal from society that befalls a character when s/he is transformed.

Scholars have long identified speech loss as a key aspect of characters' transformations in the *Metamorphoses*.[38] In fact, speech loss occurs in nearly 20% of all of the tales in the included in the *Metamorphoses*, regardless of whether a particular

[37] Hinds (2006) and Sharrock (1994), 168-174.
[38] Solodow, pp. 189-90; Hardie (2002); Boillat (1976); Anderson (1963); Galinsky (1975); Holzberg (1998a); von Albrecht; Videau-Delibes.

character is the focal point.[39] Characters that have been transformed into rocks, trees or animals cease to speak in their human voice. As a result, these characters become isolated from their community because they are no longer able to communicate with members of their community. However, as was mentioned above in the example of Actæon, the underlying identity of the character remains intact, heightening the character's sense of isolation and disconnection and increasing the overall *pathos* of the story of his/her transformation. While the continuous awareness of their situation heightens the character's sense of isolation, it also allows the opportunity for the character to work free of their solitary situation through the use of their remaining human faculties. Thus, in the *Metamorphoses*, some of the transformed characters are able to reconnect with their lost communities through the creation of written representations by which they communicate their true identities to members of their communities.

The situation just described shares a great many similarities with Ovid's depiction of himself in exile, and scholarship on the exile literature has likewise tracked Ovidian mentions of speech loss in his self-depiction. Throughout the exile literature, Ovid portrays himself as suffering from a sudden loss of voice that manifests itself in various manners ranging from a loss of the ability to speak Latin fluently, to a failing ability to create poetry, to the complete loss of a voice of any kind.[40] Such a focus on speech loss has led to a number of discussions of the trope, all of which have come to extremely divergent conclusions.

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[39] de Luce 306: "Of the 250 stories in the *Metamorphoses*, nearly 40 have to do with speech and speech loss." See Appendix A and n. 43 below.

[40] Forbis (1997); Stephens (2009); Natoli (2009). For the loss of the ability to speak Latin fluently, see. For Ovid's proclamations that he is no longer able to compose poetry well, see Williams (1994). For Ovid's complete voicelessness, see *Tristia* 1.2.

Doblhofer, for example, identified speech loss as a symptom of Ovid's 'Exilkrankheit' and argued that such mentions of speech loss were part of the universal psyche of the exile, regardless of time and space, and were not limited to Ovid. Gaertner, commenting on the same instances of speech loss in the exile literature, concluded that they were mere tropes of a type of Greco-Roman exile literature that Ovid was employing for poetic aims; they spoke to no part of Ovid's psyche nor were they unique to Ovid, although he may have been the first to use them to create a corpus of exile poetry. Those same aspects of speech loss were also analyzed most recently by Stephens, who argues that Ovid's continued focus on speech loss was indicative of his "deeply ambivalent" attitude towards the composition of poetry in exile and its possible reception "both because of its deepening compromise by the local languages and . . . because of the lack of a competent audience" (180). These three views of speech loss in the exile literature create three different pictures of Ovid: is Ovid truly depressed and devastated by his exile enough to paint a true portrait of himself as voiceless, as Doblhober would have it; is Ovid playing a literary game, as he often did, by combining tropes from existing exile literature together to create a fictional exilic persona, as Gaertner suggests; or, has Ovid - or his exilic persona - simply given up due to his lack of audience in Tomis, as argued by Stephens?

However, none of these approaches takes into account Ovid's assertion that the *vultus fortunae meae* is to be added among the *mutata corpora*, as none seek to ground their approaches in the *Metamorphoses*. Doblhofer misses Ovid's assertion that his self-depiction is merely a *vultus*, an outward appearance such as those of the transformed in

the *Metamorphoses*. Stephens misreads Ovid's portrayal of speech loss in exile literature because he treats it as a trope limited to the exile literature and not one present in the *Metamorphoses* as well; as a result, Stephens concludes that Ovid is ambivalent towards poetry, when, in fact, it is the exact opposite that is true: by using the trope of speech loss that is seen in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid is being exceedingly literary and expects his audience to recognize that his exilic persona has become like the transformed characters of the *Metamorphoses* - Ovid has become the poetry itself, or the book, in the terminology of Hardie and Newlands.[41] Gaertner gets closer than Stephens and Doblhofer in that he recognizes that Ovid is creating a poetic persona and is using speech loss as a literary trope; however, he links that trope to the larger group of exilic texts and not to the *Metamorphoses*.

Yet, over the past two decades, in addition to these studies of speech loss both in the *Metamorphoses* and in the exile literature, other scholars have begun to compare the manner in which speech loss is deployed in both. The work of de Luce and Forbis has been particularly illuminating.

De Luce, following the lead of Leo Curran, examined instances of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* and argued that such a loss symbolized the dehumanization of a character.[42] In particular, de Luce focuses on speech loss in stories of rape, showing how

[41] Compare the *poeta dissimulator* of Williams (1994).

[42] Curran anticipated later feminist discussions of Ovid (e.g., Richlin 1992, Janan 1994, Keith 2000) and suggested that in the *Metamorphoses* Ovid began to see rape not in terms of sexual gratification but in terms of power, and thus focused his depictions of rape on the psychological repercussions for the victims: "[rape is] less an act of sexual passion than of aggression and that erotic gratification is secondary to the rapist's desire to dominate physically, to humiliate, and to degrade" (236). Curran's discussion focuses particularly with Ovid's handling of the Io myth.

the motif was used more frequently in tales of rape than in any other context.[43] As a side note to her study, de Luce suggests that Ovid's focus on his own speech loss in the exile literature perhaps looked back to his characterization of dehumanized characters in the *Metamorphoses* and symbolized his own dehumanization at the hands of Augustus (317-18). However, she leaves the discussion at that point and defers to other scholars, such as Forbis.[44]

Forbis perhaps represents the fullest exploration of the connection of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* with that in the exile literature. To Forbis, Ovid consciously included self-allusive instances of speech loss in the exile literature as a means to protest Augustus' treatment of him and to highlight the injustice of his precarious situation.[45] Forbis argues that Ovid compares himself to stories such as Actæon (*Metamorphoses* 3) and Swan and the Raven (*Metamorphoses* 2) in an effort to emphasize his innocence and the harshness of his punishment because he never spoke harsh words against Augustus. Likewise, Forbis draws a close connection between Ovid's self-representation in the exile literature and Io and Philomela in the *Metamorphoses*, as those stories emphasize the isolation experienced by these characters. From these examples, Forbis concludes that the voicelessness expressed by Ovid in the exile literature expresses an overall helplessness felt by the poet, as he realized that "his poetry cannot convince Augustus to

[43] De Luce 306-307: Of the 250 stories in the *Metamorphoses*, nearly 40 have to do with speech and speech loss. Although stories about men outnumber those about women 2:1, women outnumber men in stories of speech loss 3:1. This leads de Luce to conclude that there is a strong correlation between stories of women and those of speech loss, many of which include rape.

[44] de Luce, 318: "I will leave to Forbis and others the provocative suggestion that the *Metamorphoses* may have played a part in Ovid's exile".

[45] Forbis 245: "Ovid offsets his vigorous outspokenness with various references to his own voicelessness in the face of imperial disregard and Tomitian illiteracy."

recall him . . . he might as well be trapped inside the bark of a tree or within an animal's form for all the good his poems can accomplish" (259). All Ovid could hope for is that his *Metamorphoses* would be able to live on and overcome the voicelessness suffered by the poet in exile.[46]

Yet, for all of the valid points and arguments made by de Luce and Forbis, both also seem to start from an erroneous premise that the 'Ovid' who felt his poetry was worthless and expressed his feelings of isolation and sorrow was the *historical* Ovid.[47] However, as I have discussed above, Ovid clearly mentions that what he is depicting in the exile literature is his *vultus*, an appearance or persona, but not a historical portrayal. In addition to running the risk of unquestioned acceptance of Ovid's pose of decline, the argument that Ovid both considered his poetry worthless and accepted helplessly his exile in Tomis also becomes difficult to square with the fact Ovid also continuously extols his poetic immortality in that same exile literature, or the fact that he even wrote poetry at all[48]: if he truly felt his poetry was helpless, why would have he even written it?

The Scope of this Work

This dissertation, therefore, seeks to reevaluate earlier discussions on speech loss, starting from the premise that Ovid is not attempting to portray a historical account but is

[46] Forbis 267: "Only in the imaginary world of the *Metamorphoses* could the poet/narrator Ovid surpass Jupiter, Apollo, and the other gods in narrative dexterity. Once in exile in the real world, Ovid ceased to control the degree of his own involvement. He could no longer sidestep the pronouncements of divinized Augustus . . . to those in Rome, these poems were all they had to remember him by, his metamorphosis, as it were, from poet into poetry".

[47] Forbis, however, in the last paragraph of her discussion, seems to suggest that the *vultus* from *Tristia* 1.1 is a poetic persona created by Ovid (see Forbis 267 in n. 24 above).

[48] Ovid on poetic immortality: *T.* 1.4, 1.6, 4.8, 4.19, 5.5, 5.14; *Pont.* 2.10, 3.1. For a general discussion of Ovid's claim to immortality in the exile literature, see McGowan 2009, pp. 25ff.

instead creating an exilic persona. That exilic persona is, as has been shown by these scholars, bound up in the idea of speech loss. Therefore, I will argue that the presence of speech loss is not a psychological trait, as argued by Doblhofer, or a mere trope borrowed from other sources and devoid of meaning, as Gaertner suggests, but an allusion to a pattern that Ovid himself set up in the tales of transformation within his *Metamorphoses*.

This approach to speech loss solves many of the inconsistencies that plague the other discussions of speech loss in the exile literature. First, by treating 'Ovid' in the exile literature as a persona and not as the historical poet, this dissertation avoids the contradictions present in Forbis, de Luce, and Stephens, all of whom favor a reading of the worthlessness of poetry, while accepting that that very poetry accomplished the goal it set out to meet: the memorialization of Ovid. Secondly, by identifying the trope of speech loss as a pattern created by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* and reemployed by him in the exile literature, this dissertation can reach beyond the exilic persona of Ovid to the historical Ovid in a manner that the approaches of Gaertner, Claassen and Doblhofer cannot; for the fact that Ovid alludes to a trope that *he himself* created allows for a greater analysis of authorial intent (i.e., a form of psychoanalysis), while still acknowledging that Ovid's pattern of speech loss had its genesis in the tropes of earlier exile literature.

This dissertation will approach the topic of speech loss in Ovid from, as it were, the bottom up: starting first with a general background of conceptions of speech loss in 1st century BCE Rome, then moving to the identification and analysis of both Ovid's pattern of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* and its later iteration in the exile literature, finally moving to a deeper discussion of authorial intent and what forces might have

driven Ovid to create and employ such a pattern. These steps will be taken over the span of four chapters.

In the second half of this chapter, I will set the foundation for the entire discussion of speech loss in Ovid by analyzing the conception of speech loss in 1st century BCE Roman thought. Using modern socio-cognitive theories of schemata and cognitive poetics, a schema of speech loss will be uncovered, along with its corresponding scripts. To that end, I will trace the contexts in which the terms for speechlessness, particularly *mutus*, are used in 1st century BCE Roman texts. The results will show that speechlessness in that time period was bound up with concepts of the non-human, isolation, and emotionality, all of which Ovid chooses as foundational to his pattern of speech loss.

Chapter Two will set out the pattern for speech loss that is the basis for Ovid's depiction of both his characters and himself. The chapter will begin with what has been said about speech and speech loss in the *Metamorphoses*. Commentators such as Anderson (1985), Bömer and Barchiesi (2001b) have duly noted that characters that have transformed into rocks, trees or animals cease to speak in their human voice. Yet, most of the scholarship on speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* has concluded that characters lose their ability to speak because their human voice is transformed along with their forms.[49] This chapter will argue that speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* can be interpreted through the schematic model created in Chapter One (i.e., speech loss as associated with the non-human and emotional) as a cessation of the ability to be human and an isolation from

[49] Theodorakopoulos (1999), Solodow (1988), Anderson (1963), Boillat (1976), Gildenhard and Zissos (2007), Lateiner, D. (1996), Riddehough (1959).

community. Stories from the *Metamorphoses* will be examined as evidence of this interpretation, most notably the tales of Lycaon, Actæon, and Callisto. From here, it will be argued that, although the removal from society is a reality for these characters, Ovid builds a method of communal reintegration through the completion of another human act: artistic creation. The stories of Philomela and Io will be analyzed to show this point, as these two characters regain their status in community through artistic creation. In addition, I will also examine aspects of the stories of Pygmalion and Ariadne that exhibit these concepts.

In Chapter Three, having set the theoretical frameworks of the dissertation and the pattern of speech loss, artistic creation and community in the *Metamorphoses*, I will turn to how Ovid applies this model to his exilic persona in the exile literature. The chapter will build upon the work of Spentzou (2005), Forbis (1997), de Luce (1993), and Stevens (2009), all of which examined speech loss as an aspect of how Ovid depicts his transformation in exile, arguing that Ovid portrays himself as one of his transformed characters in order to engage with the model of speech loss and community, a model by which Ovid can describe his reintegration into his community. However, as mentioned above, this chapter will depart from these handlings of the exile literature by emphasizing that the 'Ovid' of the exile literature is a persona and not the historical poet. As evidence of Ovid's interaction with his previous pattern of speech loss, this chapter will provide close readings and interpretations of passages from the exile poetry, especially the opening sequence of poems from *Tristia* 1, which depict Ovid's journey from Rome to

Tomis[50], the fictitious depictions of Tomis throughout the exilic project[51], and Ovid's focus on the written word as a communicative means in place of his lost speech.[52]

In Chapter Four, I will turn to a discussion of authorial intent and will consider the question of why Ovid attempts to portray himself in such a manner and what he gains – or hopes to gain – from doing so. It is in this section that the methodological framework of memory studies can prove to be enlightening. As has been shown by the work of Williams (1994), Hinds (1985), and Nagle (1980), Ovid manipulates his audience by engaging in what has been called a 'pose of decline' or what Williams (1994) has fashioned the "poetics of exile". This chapter will build upon these previous discussions by casting Ovid's depiction of his exile in terms of memory. Using and modifying the terminology provided by M. Halbwachs (1925) J. Assmann (1992), it will be argued that Ovid engages with multiple aspects of Roman cultural memory to create an account of his exile that he wanted to be disseminated.[53] Instead of reporting a 'truthful' story of his exile based in individual memory, Ovid recalls his past engagement in a literary community and creates a literary patina out of Roman stereotypes and

[50] Hinds (1985) is perhaps the seminal handling of the opening sequence of poems in *Tristia* 1.
[51] Pippidi (1977) shows that the archaeological remains of ancient Tomis are at serious odds with Ovid's depiction, as the remains speak to a thriving, cosmopolitan resort town on the Black Sea.
[52] Huskey (2005) and Newlands (1997) depict manners in which Ovid shifts his focus from a language of speaking to one of writing.
[53] Much scholarship exists on the concept of 'cultural memory'. Holtorf (1996) explores cultural memory is made manifest in physical monuments, which function as timemarks and sites of memory. Connerton (1989), like Assmann (1992), denotes cultural memory as the collective understandings, or constructions, of the distant past, as they are held by people in a given social and historical context. For more, see Jonker (1995), Borofsky (1987), Friedman (1992), Niethammer (1993) and Shanks (1996).
In more recent scholarship, there has been a movement away from such a static and even monolithic conception of cultural memory. Gedi and Elam (1996) and Erll (2008) challenge the unchanging conception of cultural memory and suggest the existence of a more elastic, ever-changing, culturally specific conception.
On memory studies and the Classics, see Galinsky (ed.) 2013.

expectations of the generic tropes of absence and friendship in epistolography. Through these means, Ovid can, in essence, rewrite his own exile, creating a literary tale of a pose of decline based in cultural memory. In so doing, Ovid creates an artistic creation of his exile that he hopes will reintegrate him into Roman community through reconnecting him to Roman memory.

Speech and Speech Loss in Ancient Rome: A Working Schema

Before turning to the Ovidian depiction of speech loss and its subsequent effects in the *Metamorphoses* and exile literature, it will be helpful to frame the Ovidian depiction within the larger discourse of speech loss in Ovid's Rome. Therefore, in this section I will attempt to unpack some of the ways in which Ovid's contemporaries were discussing speechlessness in order to gain a deeper understanding of what exactly came to mind when one was speechless. To accomplish this, I will turn to the modern concept of schema theory, a method of conceptualizing how human beings conceive and make meaning of a situation, and one that has become a major part of the field of cognitive poetics. By piecing together the schemata that were activated when Ovid's contemporaries discussed speech loss, we can identify the contexts in which the topic of speech loss was most likely to occur and other concepts with which speech loss was closely associated. This background, consequently, will act as a foil to subsequent discussions in Chapters Two and Three on how Ovid interacted with and innovated within this schematic model. In particular, I will focus on the schemata activated by the Latin word *mutus*, a common method of expressing this speechlessness in Ovid and in

Latin more generally, although not the only one.[54] Still, an analysis of *mutus* provides us with an adequate number of instances to allow us to gain an understanding of the concept without the study being too large and cumbersome to glean anything useful.

What I will show through an analysis of *mutus* is that the concept of speechlessness involved much more than the simple removal of the physical ability to speak; the real loss was of the social variety. In antiquity, speech was regarded as a uniquely human linguistic ability.[55] Whereas animals had a type of communication, a method of communicating through inarticulate sounds denoting pain or pleasure, mankind developed their language into speech, an articulated form of communication that was able to recall and discuss matters removed from the present time and place, to produce new sounds and meanings for new objects and ideas, and to describe abstract ideas devoid of any physical manifestation.[56] Along with this articulated speech came the rational ability to organize the linguistic and physical world into community. In fact, for

[54] cf. also to the uses of *taceo, quiesco, infans* and *elinguis. Elinguis,* in particular, seems to have some connection with *mutus*: it only occurred 20 times in a TLL search of all Latin literature, and six of those times it was joined to *mutus* by the conjunction *et* (Tacitus, *Dialogus* 36.8.3; Suetonius *Vitae* 6.1.9; Apuleius, *De Duo Soc.* 4.33; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memor.* 5.3.68; Livy 10.19.7.2; Cicero, *Post Reditu* 6.9).

[55] Discussions of speech, language and communication are typically difficult to read due to the slippage of definitions between the three. This discussion follows the definitions of Gera 182-183: "Speech is the vocal expression of language: it involves both the possession of language – a mental system of signs and the relations between them – and the vocal, physical articulation of sounds. One cannot speak without having a language, but one can possess a language without exhibiting it vocally. Communication – more specifically animal communication – is much more limited than speech or language. Communication may be vocal – e.g., a dog barking – but creatures who communicate by means of sound do not necessarily possess language."

[56] These aspects of speech map onto modern conceptions the human language quite well. One such conception is the design of the linguist Charles Hockett, who points to the following features: 'displacement' (the ability to recall and discuss matters removed from the present time and place), 'arbitrariness' (the ability to describe abstract ideas devoid of any physical manifestation), 'productivity' (the ability to produce new sounds and meanings for new objects and ideas) and 'cultural transmission' (the fact that a language is learned and not hardwired into an individual at birth). For more on Hockett's design, see Gera 182ff. and Harris (1980), 23-9.

the Greeks, the related concepts of speech and rational thought were bound up in the term λόγος.[57] The clearest statement of this is located in Aristotle's *Politics*[58]:

Λόγον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων· ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει ζῴοις (μέχρι γὰρ τούτου ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐλήλυθε, τοῦ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος καὶ ταῦτα σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις), ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ δηλοῦν ἐστι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ τὸ βλαβερόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδιον, τὸ μόνον ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ καὶ δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἴσθησιν ἔχειν· ἡ δὲ τούτων κοινωνία ποιεῖ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν. (*Pol.* 1253a9-19)

For nature, as we say, makes nothing in vain, and man is the only animal who possesses speech. The voice, to be sure, signifies pain and pleasure and therefore is found in other animals . . . but speech is for expressing the useful and the harmful, and therefore also the just and the unjust. For this is the peculiar characteristic of man in contrast to the other animals, that he alone has perception of good and evil, and just and unjust and the other such qualities, and the participation in these things makes a household city-state. (Trans. J. Heath)

The λόγος that Aristotle describes differs from the communication of animals (φωνή) in that it 1) is articulated and able to convey multiple meanings, some of which are abstract, and 2) serves as the foundation for human community itself (οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν).[59] Through speech mankind is able to build community and to develop cultural customs and ideals such as conceptions of good/evil and just/unjust. Such an ability makes man a ζωίον λόγικον, a rational animal; all other ζῷα are ἄλογικα.[60] Likewise, Vitruvius, in

[57] cf. also Heracl. 1.2.50 and Pam. 7.

[58] For the later Roman iteration of this Stoic thought, cf. Cic. *Nat. D.*2.149: *Ad usum autem orationis incredible est, nisi diligenter adtenderis, quanta opera machinate natura sit. Primum enim a pulmonibus arteria usque ad os intimum pertinent,* ***per quam vox principium a mente ducens*** *percipitur et funditur.* Here, the voice proceeds directly from the *mens*, the seat of reason; thus, the power of speech, as with that of λόγος, lay in the connection between reason and speech.

[59] The question of articulation is the traditional distinction between human and animal communication. For more on articulation, see Ax (1986), 15-58. For more on the human aspects of speech, reason and community, cf. also Lysias *Fun. Or.* 18-19; Xen. *Mem.* 4.3.12; Gorgias *Helen*; Euripides *Suppliants* 201-4; Soph. *Antigone* 354-6; Plato *Protag.* 322a.

[60] Heath 7.

his *De Architectura*, makes the same connection between the development of speech and the formation of community:

In eo hominum congressu cum profundebantur aliter e spiritu voces, cotidiana consuetudine vocabula, ut optigerant, constituerunt. Deinde significando res saepius in usu ex eventu fari fortuito coeperunt et ita sermones inter se procreaverunt. (*De Architectura* 2.1.1)	From daily association words began to pour forth somewhat from the spirit, the vocabulary of daily custom, as they happened and became customary; then by identifying things used more frequently, they began to talk about them at random occurrences and in such a fashion conversations sprung forth among them.

In the Vitruvian passage, the term *voces* is equated with the Aristotelian φωνή: these are inarticulate sounds that make up an extremely limited form of communication. These *voces* were then replaced by a speech and language: deliberate speech in the form of *vocabula*.[61] With these *vocabula*, men could take part in *sermones*, conversations that eventually led to the creation of houses and, subsequently, other disciplines (cf. Aristotle's creation of οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν through λόγος).[62]

On the other hand, humans who had any type of speech impairment (i.e., an impairment of the vocal ability to produce articulate speech) were consistently depicted as located on the peripheries of society and in a sort of primitive state between man and beast. In his *Indica,* the fourth century BCE historian, Ctesias, describes the Κυνοκεφάλοι, a people with the bodies of men and the heads of dogs who live at the fringes of the known world.[63] The Κυνοκεφάλοι have no verbal speech, but bark as dogs in order to communicate with one another (φωνὴν δὲ διαλέγονται οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ'

[61] For the interpretation of *vocabula* as articulate sounds rather than words, see Cole 1967, 60-11 nn. 1-2 and Gera 158 n. 159.
[62] cf. Vitr. 2.1: *nutu monstrantes ostendebant quas haberent ex eo utilitates*.
[63] *FGrH* 688 F 45.37, 40-3. For more on the Κυνοκεφάλοι, see Romm 1992 78-81; Karttunen 1989, 180-5; Lenfant 1999, 206-213; Gera 185-187.

ὠρύονται ὥσπερ κύνες, καὶ οὕτω συνιᾶσιν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν).[64] Although they are unable to communicate with their human neighbors, the Indians, they are still able to comprehend the human language of the Indians and attempt to communicate with the Indians through physical gesture. Their liminal position between man/beast and speech/speech loss places them on the fringes of society, isolated from civilization.

Like the Κυνοκεφάλοι, another group suffering from impaired speech on the fringes of civilization is the Ἰχθυοφάγοι of the sixth century ethnographer, Agatharchides.[65] These people also live on the fringes of the known world and lack speech, communicating only through nods, inarticulate sounds, and imitative gestures.[66] Moreover, the Ἰχθυοφάγοι only communicate about their day-to-day lives and mundane occurrences, never expressing their individual feelings or doing anything leading to individual identity within the group.[67] In both of these cases, because the Ἰχθυοφάγοι and the Κυνοκεφάλοι are without speech, they are also without individual identity as human and are placed at the fringes of society in a middle state between man and beast.

The following schematic analysis of the term *mutus* – the preferred term for the type of inarticulate sound of animals – shows that the conception of speech as human, rational, and communal was still prevalent in the Roman literature of the first century

[64] *FGrH* 688 F 45.37. Also, *FGrH* 688 F 45p α = Plin. *HN* 7.23: *pro voce latratum edere.* Cf. Gera 186 n. 11.

[65] *GGM* i. 129-41, frr. 31-49. For more on the Ἰχθυοφάγοι, see Burstein 1989, 37-8; Jacob 1991, 133-146; and Gera 187-190.

[66] *De mari Erythraeo,* fr. 41: Ὅθεν (φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεύς) ἔγωγε νομίζω μηδὲ χαρακτῆρα εὔγνωστον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς, ἐθισμῷ δὲ καὶ νεύματι ἤχοις τε καὶ μιμητικῇ δηλώσει διοικεῖν πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Cf. Diod. 3.18.6: διὸ καί φασιν αὐτοὺς διαλέκτῳ μὲν μὴ χρῆσθαι, μιμητικῇ δὲ δηλώσει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν διασημαίνειν ἕκαστα τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἀνηκόντων.

[67] Gera 189. Agatharchides also describes the Ἰχθυοφάγοι as a herd of cattle, who roar rather than produce articulate speech: ἡ δὲ ὁδοιπορία τούτων παραπλήσιος γίνεται ταῖς ἀγέλαις τῶν βοῶν, πάντων φωνὴν ἀφιέντων οὐκ ἔναρθρον, ἀλλ᾽ ἦχον μόνον ἀποτελοῦσαν. (fr. 38). Such a description strengthens Agatharchides' claim that the Ἰχθυοφάγοι lack individuation.

BCE through the time of Ovid's death. The term is frequently used either to describe inarticulate beings with neither speech nor reason, namely animals, or to emphasize the difference between the noun the adjective modifies and humanity. Furthermore, the term also occurs often in the description of emotional situations, fitting locations for the curtailment of reason.

Therefore, the presence of *mutus* in Roman literature appears to have brought to mind a schema in which the most salient features are speechlessness, the non-human and emotionality. To illustrate this point more clearly, I will first turn to a brief background of schema theory and then to the actual instances of *mutus* in 1st century BCE Rome in order to analyze the cognitive features underlying each instance.

Schema Theory: A Brief Introduction

Since schema theory is still slowly making its way into Classical Studies, it may be best to provide a brief introduction to it and to its relation to literary analysis in particular.[68] The notion of schema theory dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century[69] and to the educational psychologist Piaget[70], who himself termed the concept.

[68] A good introduction to the concept of schema theory and its history in scholarship is McVee et al. (2005).

[69] The concepts underlying schema theory can actually be traced much further back to Plato and Aristotle (Marshall 1995). The work of Kant (1929) also was foundational in the conception of schemata as the organizational building blocks that help us make meaning from our experiences (Johnson 1987).

[70] Piaget (1952) *passim*. For Piaget, a social constructivist, argued that development was a continuous process of renegotiation in which an individual either assimilates new information or experience into existing schemata or changes schemata to fit new information or experience. What sets Piaget's conception of schema theory off from others is his focus on sensory motor schemata and how they affect a child's early development.

Throughout the subsequent century, other educational psychologists, such as Bartlett[71] and Andersen[72], expanded the use of the theory. At its root, schema theory postulates that all knowledge is organized into units called schemata and that these schemata "mediate between stimuli received by the sense organs and behavioral responses" (Casson, 430). Each separate schema is a device for representing knowledge of a concept, along with specifications for relating it to a network of connections that seem to hold all components of that particular concept. Individuals acquire schemata through their experiences, and as they have more experiences, individuals refine, correct, and restructure their schemata. For example, if one has a particularly frightening experience the first time one encounters a dog, then one's 'dog schema' will associate with itself emotions such as fear, worry, and anxiety as well as the physical characteristics of that particular dog. As one meets other dogs, perhaps of other breeds and dispositions, one restructures one's 'dog schema' to include these modifications; no longer are all dogs considered frightening, but only the ones like the original, hostile dog. This process of renegotiation and modification is continuous and is activated every time one encounters something relating to dogs.

[71] Bartlett (1932/1995) is perhaps the most often cited work on schema theory (cf. Saito 1996) and focuses on the interaction between schemata, culture and memory. "For Bartlett, schemas highlighted the reciprocity between culture and memory. Schemas were necessary to explain the constitutive role of culturally organized experience in individual sense making. This early use of the term suggested a transactional relationship between individual knowledge and cultural practice" (McVee et al. 2005, 535).

[72] Andersen should be credited with the wholesale introduction of schema theory into the educational setting, especially into the context of reading. Andersen (1977) argued that reading was not simply a static process of symbolic recognition but a dynamic interaction between a reader's prior knowledge (i.e., existing schemata) and the text. If no schemata are present for the reader to interpret the text, it is impossible for meaning to be constructed from the text and the text is of little pedagogical use.

Over the past decade, schema theory has been employed to analyze literary texts as well as a part of what has come to be known as cognitive poetics.[73] Based on the foundations gained from schema theory that individuals are constantly (re)-constructing information to (re)-negotiate their reality, cognitive poetics suggests that "meaning is not something that resides in a text, but is rather something that is constructed by the recipient in his or her encounter with the text" (Lundhaug 19). Each individual comes to a particular reading with conscious and unconscious biases. Likewise, when an author composes a text, the author embeds in that text certain traces of individual or cultural schemata (Stockwell 3-4). Consider these phrases:

"I'm running out of time"

"I have plenty of time."

"I don't have enough time for that."

Although each of these phrases communicates the amount of time available to an individual, it also reveals the pieces of a 'time schema' for modern Americans, namely that time is conceived of as a tangible commodity of which one can have various amounts of possession (i.e., time is something that can be 'had'). So, however improbable it may have seemed at first, the 'time schema' is closely associated with tangibility and possession.

Recently, such methodological use of cognitive poetics has begun to be seen in the Classics as well, particularly in the work of Robert Kaster and Andrew Riggsby.

[73] The best introduction to the topic is the brief book by Stockwell (2002). Other good critical handlings of the use of schema theory and cognitive poetics in the humanities are: Evans and Green (2006), Hogan (2003), Turner (2002), and Sweetser (1999).

Kaster (2005) uses schema theory to "understand at least some of the interplay between the emotions and the ethics of the Roman upper classes in the late Republic and early Empire" (4). In particular, Kaster focused on the meanings embedded within texts, those not stated outright or allusively but subconsciously.[74] By focusing on the schemata surrounding certain emotions in Roman texts (e.g., *amor, pudor, paenitentia, verecudia*), Kaster attempts to sidestep modern conceptions of love, shame, regret, and worried regard and all their modern associations in order to uncover the *Roman* schemata of these terms and the associations that the *Romans* made to them.[75] Likewise, Riggsby (2006) has attempted to analyze Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* in terms of space, ethnography, and *virtus* through schema theory.[76] In addition, he also suggests manners in which questions of genre and self-presentation can be approached through schema theory, analyzing cultural notions and discourses to uncover whether the work would have been perceived by a Roman audience as apologetic.[77]

Both of these approaches to ancient literature through cognitive poetics and schema theory have much to offer our current investigation of the Roman conception of

[74] Kaster 4: "The focus [of this work] falls on the often unreflecting and unarticulated ways in which people adopt norms as they grow up in a culture and the ways in which emotions, and talk about emotions, reinforce those norms."
[75] Kaster 6-7: "We can start from the fact that the Romans' language of emotions is not our own, that indeed no two emotion terms in either language map perfectly onto each other . . . we have only the Romans' words, and the words must be our starting point. But an understanding the remained at the level of lexical correspondence would not be sufficient."
[76] Riggsby 1: "This study has two roughly equal parts. The first, 'external' part looks outward and considers the kind of Roman identity postulated by Caesar's work, particularly how it is constituted in the context of various non-Roman others."
[77] Riggsby 6: "Similarly, I here argue that Caesar's choice of the *commentaries* form and perhaps the appearance of 'Gallic War' in its title make natural the exclusion of much contemporary material (politics back at Rome, Caesar's nonmilitary activities in Gaul). This allows him to omit much that would potentially have been controversial, and to focus on circumstances in which he is opposed by armed foreigners, maximizing sympathy for himself."

speech loss. By analyzing the contexts in which terms for speech loss are employed (just as terms for emotion or genre), we can remain focused on Roman and not modern notions of speech loss. Instead of starting from modern conceptions of speech loss as a physical handicap, as isolating, or as involving, at points, heightened emotion (e.g., "I was left speechless by the enormity of the situation.), we can identify what Romans seem to have associated most closely with speech loss and let that serve as the background for understanding the social context in which Ovid wrote about speech loss and schemata that he *expected* to be activated in his audience.

Presentation of Data

Having explained the basic method I will use to explore speech loss in Ovid's Rome, I turn now to the term that will be at the heart of my schematic analysis: *mutus*. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary*'s (*OLD*) definition of *mutus* confirms the reason why that term is appropriate for my analysis:

> **Mutus, a, um**; Gr. μύτις, μυάω; cf. Lat. mussare, *dumb, mute*. Lit. *that does not speak, silent.* – Of creatures who do not possess the faculty of speech, and can utter only inarticulate sounds

That definition highlights the fact that *mutus* was the typical Latin term to describe those who did not possess articulate speech and, consequently, lacked the humanity that came along with it. As such, an analysis of *mutus* and the contexts in which it was employed locates my analysis in texts that are discussing the themes of speech and speech loss, either implicitly or explicitly. Moreover, an analysis of such discussions can identify the

conceptions of speech that were active in Ovid's Rome and with which he was likely to have interacted.

The number of instances of *mutus* also provides a large and diverse group of texts for analysis. According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL), there are 478 instances of the term in extant Latin Literature, 94 of which occurred in the time period from the beginning of the first century BCE to Ovid's death in 18 CE. It is the use of *mutus* in this period that is the focus of my analysis, as by chronological proximity, the literature of this period provides a more accurate conception of speech and speech loss in Ovid's Rome.

A schematic analysis of these 94 instances of *mutus* confirms the basic definition of the *OLD*, but adds more nuance to our understanding of *mutus* because it focuses more on the context in which *mutus* was employed and ideas with which it was consistently associated (Figure 1). A review of the results of the analysis concludes that *mutus* was consistently associated with two major concepts, the second of which had two distinct subcategories.

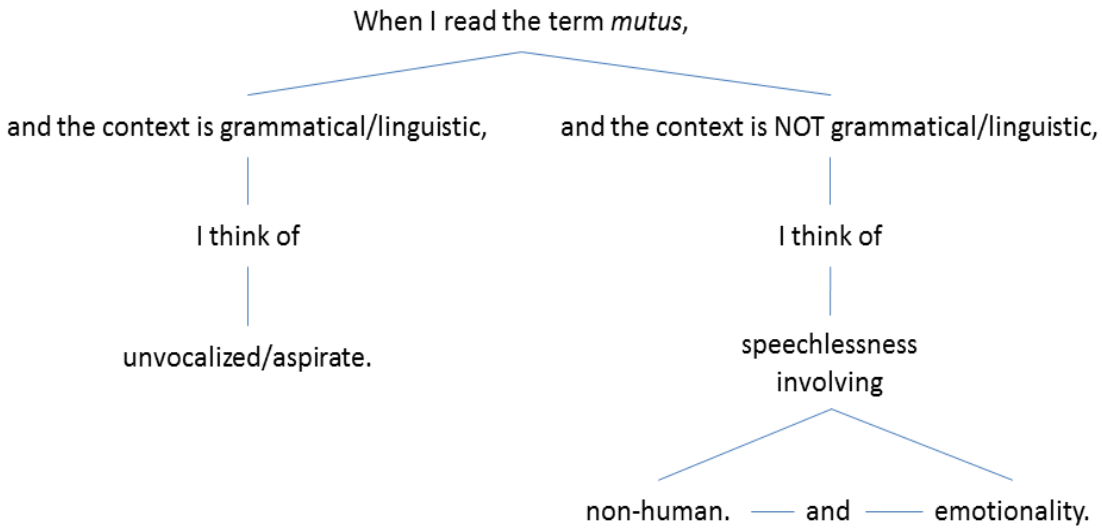

Figure 1: The *mutus* schema and its corresponding scripts

The first major concept with which *mutus* was associated was a strictly grammatical one and need not concern us for long. In texts dealing with the art of rhetoric, linguistics or phonology, *mutus* was used to describe a silent consonant.[78] Quintilian and Servius, though later, exemplify this conception of *mutus*:[79]

Ne quis igitur tamquam parva fastidiat grammatices elementa, non quia magnae sit operae consonantes a vocalibus discernere ipsasque eas in **semivocalium numerum mutarumque** partiri, sed quia interiora velut sacri huius adeuntibus apparebit multa rerum subtilitas, quae non modo acuere ingenia puerilia, sed exercere altissimam quoque eruditionem ac scientiam possit.

Let no man, therefore, look down on the elements of grammar as small matters, not because it requires great labor to distinguish consonants from vowels and to divide them into the proper number of semivowels and mutes, but because, to those entering the recesses, as it were, of this temple there will appear much subtlety on points, which may

[78] cf. Q. Terentius Scaurus *De Adverbio et Praepositione* 29.15, 30.4, 30.12, 30.17, 34.9, 51.4, 52.3, 53.5; Fragmenta Bobiensia, *De Littera* 538.30, 539.2, 539.14; Terenianus Maurus, *De Litteris* 91, 94, 104, 188, 720, 781, 806, 815, 826, 883, 859, 870, 883, 890, 912, 949, 970, 1037, 1058, 1078, 1167, 1233, 1244, 1249, 1254, 1258.

[79] The majority of the instances of *mutus* in a grammatical sense are accompanied by a comparison to letters described as *semivocales*.

not only sharpen the wits of boys, but may exercise even the deepest erudition and knowledge (Quin. *Inst.* 1.4.6).

> PERAGRO per habet accentum; nam 'a' longa quidem est, sed non solida positione; **muta** enim et liquida quotiens ponuntur metrum iuvant, non accentum.
>
> "Peragro" has an accent on 'per'; for the 'a' is indeed long, but not in a solid position; for mutes and liquids aid the meter as often as they are put down, not the accent (*Serv. Dan.* 1.384).

In both of these instances, *mutus* carries no underlying schematic conceptions, as the context in which it is used is limited to the technical and literal levels. No underlying assumptions or associations of *mutus* with identity are present.

The second major conception of *mutus*, however, does not concern grammar or linguistics, but is associated with speech loss and is filled with underlying meanings that can be teased out through a schematic analysis. Beyond the general definition of 'lacking speech' provided by the *OLD*, an analysis of the contexts in which this conception is used reveals two other subcategories of speech loss associated with *mutus*: 1) the non-human and 2) emotionality.

The first of these subcategories, the non-human, is the association that the *OLD* addresses with its definition. In these contexts, *mutus* is consistently associated with non-human entities: animals and inanimate objects. In many of these instances, *mutus* is employed to draw a stark distinction between the human and the non-human and, consequently, is often found in stories of the evolution of man and the animals. Horace, Lucretius, and Catullus provide prime examples of this subcategory of *mutus*:

cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris, **mutum** et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter	When animals crawled forth on the first land, a mute and dirty race, they fought over food and shelter with nails and fists, then with sticks,

unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
pugnabant armis quae post fabricaverat usus,
donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent
nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
oppida coepeunt munire, et ponere leges,
ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Hor. Sat. 1.3.99-106.

and thereafter with arms, which, later, skill had created, until they found nouns and verbs with which they denoted their feelings; henceforth they abstained from war, began to build cities, and put down laws, that one should not be a thief, nor a robber, nor one an adulterer.

postremo quid in hac mirabile tantoperest re,
si genus humanum, cui vox et lingua vigeret,
pro vario sensu varia res voce notaret,
cum pecudes **mutae**, cum denique saecla ferarum
dissimilis soleant voces variasque ciere,
cum metus aut dolor est et cum iam gaudia gliscunt?
* * * * * *
Ergo si varii sensus animalia cogunt,
muta tamen cum sint, varias emittere voces,
quanto mortalis magis aequumst tum potuisse
dissimilis alia atque alia res voce notare.
Lucr. 5.1056-61, 1087-90.

Finally, what is so very amazing in this business, if the human race, whose voice and tongue are more developed, denote things with a various voice for a various sense, while the mute flocks, indeed, while the types of beasts are accustomed to utter different and various voices, when fear or grief is present or even when now joys swell?
* * * * * *
Therefore, if various senses impel animals, mute though they are, to produce various sounds, how much more equal it is then for mortals to be able to denote different things with one sound or another.

Multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus
aduenio has miseras, frater, ad inferias,
ut te postremo donarem munere mortis
et **mutam** nequiquam alloquerer **cinerem**.
quandoquidem fortuna mihi tete abstulit ipsum.
heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi,
nunc tamen interea haec, prisco quae more parentum
tradita sunt tristi munere ad inferias,
accipe fraterno multum manantia fletu,
atque in perpetuum, frater, aue atque uale.
Catull. 101

Passing through many peoples and many seas I come to these miserable funeral rites, so that I might bestow upon you the last gifts of the dead and I might console mute ash in vain. Alas, poor brother, accept now these things, unfairly taken from me, which have been handed down by the ancient custom of ancestors as a sad gift for funeral rites, drenched much with a brother's tears, and forever, brother, greetings and farewell.

In the first two of these passages, Horace and Lucretius use *mutus* to describe similar antecedents.[80] Lucretius uses *mutus* to emphasize the major physiological distinction

[80] For an in depth discussion of the Lucretian passage, see Bailey, volume 3, pp. 1486-1491.

between man and beast.[81] He describes animals as *mutus* and used to uttering only random sounds (*dissimilis soleant voces variasque ciere*; *varias emitter voces*) to exhibit sensations of pain or pleasure.[82] Humans, on the other hand, are capable of articulating sounds and communicating through speech (*vox et lingua vigeret*) their individual feelings and responses to circumstances.[83] The verb *notaret*, which is used to describe an ability that humans have and animals lack, has further undertones of the creation of law and community that fall along the lines of Aristotle's conception of λόγος as the dual foundation of speech and community for mankind.[84]

For Horace, who most likely modeled his passage on the Lucretian description of the evolution of man and beast,[85] the term is reserved to describe primitive *animalia*, a *turpe pecus*. This group lived in a primitive existence until they found an articulate means through which they could express themselves (*donec verba quibus voces*

[81] Leonard and Smith *ad* 5.1059: "*mutae*: i.e., incapable of articulate sounds". Likewise, Bailey *ad* 5.1059: "'dumb' not in the sense of being unable to utter sounds, but unable to frame words."

[82] Leonard and Smith *ad loc.* suggest that the *ciere* be understood as 'to utter', rendering it a near synonym of the later *emittere*. The repetition of the terms *varias voces* in both locations strengthens this claim. Bailey *ad loc.* concurs: "**ciere:** 'to emit', practically equivalent to *edere*."
There is a textual debate over the term *varias*: manuscript OQ produces the reading *varias*, whereas the, Bentley, in his text emends the reading to *varia*, noting that *varias* was a corruption caused by the collocation with *res*. Bailey agrees with this suggestion, Leonard and Smith does not. However, regardless of the exact reading, the connection with the later instance of *varias voces* in 5.1088 still remains intact.

[83] cf. the Ciceronian and Vitruvian passages mentioned on p. 24 above. In those cases, *vox* was used to describe inarticulate speech. Here, Lucretius distinguishes between man and beast by giving both *vox*, but only bestowing *lingua*, the instrument of articulation, on man. Cf. Bailey *ad.* 5.1057: "the voice [*vox*] utters the sounds, the tongue [*lingua*] forms them into articulate words.

[84] Leonard and Smith *ad* 1.700 propose that the verb *notare* suggests the action of a Roman censor, who would affix a *nota* to the names of citizens deemed worthy of reproof.

[85] Gowers *ad* 1.3.99-124: "The [Horatian] picture owes much to the Epicurean theories of social and linguistic evolution, especially as mediated through Lucretius' adaptation of Democritus at [*Lucr.*] 5.783-1457. Likewise, Mueller *ad* 1.3.99-106: "gleichfalls epikureische, doch schon von den ionischen Physiken ausgesprochene, auch sonst sehr verbreitete Ansicht". For more on the relationship between the Horatian and Lucretian views of linguistic development, see Rochette 2001 and Kemp 2010.

sensusque notarent nominaque invenere).[86] After they developed language, they were able to found cities, to create laws, and to live in community in much the same manner that Aristotle described.[87] What distinguished primitive animals from mankind, therefore, was the ability to speak, and the use of *mutus* to describe primitive man (along with the deliberate use of *animalia*) serves to highlight the distinction.[88]

Whereas the Lucretian and Horatian passages use *mutus* to describe the distinction between man and beast in evolutionary terms, the third passage from Catullus is of a different sort. In this poem, Catullus composes a memorial for his deceased brother in the form of a Hellenistic grave epigram.[89] Here, *mutus* is not used to depict an animal, but Catullus' brother, who has recently died and been cremated.[90] The distinction made between the brothers in the poem is clearly portrayed in terms of speech: Catullus comes to his brother's grave to speak with him, but his brother, being dead, is unable to

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[86] Cf. Diogenes of Oenoanda fr. 12 Smith: "λέγω δὲ τῶν τε **ὀνομάτων** καὶ τῶν **ῥημάτων**, ὧν ἐποιήσαντο τὰς πρώτας ἀναφθέγξεις οἱ ἀπὸ γῆς φύντες ἄνθρωποι" [I speak of both names and words, the first of which men, growing from the earth, formed while crying out.] Mueller *ad* 1.3.99-106 suggests a link between Diogenes and Horace, equating *verba* ὀνομάτων with and *nomina* with ῥημάτων.

[87] Gowers *ad* 1.3.99-100: "Here, dumbness and the lack of upright locomotion are the points of comparison; later, it is sporadic and competitive sexual behavior."

[88] Gowers *ad* 1.3.101-102: "Horace implies that articulate speech is a form of expedient invention and an essential precursor to civilization." cf. the earlier discussion of the Ἰχθυοφάγοι and the Κυνοκεφάλοι (pp. 25-26).

Like Lucretius, Horace also uses the term *notare* to describe the action of articulate mankind as different from that of inarticulate animals. Gowers *ad* 1.3.103-104 suggests an individual reason for Horace's use of the term in addition to the fact that it carried undertones of civilized action: "This potentially sinister word links the general development of speech with Horace's picture of the development of his own *sermo* from his father's pointing gestures. The word also sets up another *figura etymologica*with *nomina* [line 104]: names are labels for the things we point at. Horace is incidentally shaping a genealogy for satire, which also started from specifically finger-pointing satirical speech with *nomina* 'names' and *notare* 'to label' suggesting outdated *nominatim* abuse." Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.106 *notando* and 1.4.5 *multa cum libertate notarent*.

[89] Garrison *ad. loc.*

[90] The use of *mutus* to describe cremated ashes is not limited to this passage, but is a small elegiac trope. cf. Catullus 96 and 64 for *mutus* in Catullus. However, cf. also Tib. 2.6.34: *et mea cum muto fata querar cinere*, Ov. *Fast.* 5.422: *inferias tacitis manibus illa dabunt*, and Antipater of Sidon (1st c. B.C. elegiac poet) *A.P.* 7.467.8: κωφὰ κόνις.

reply.[91] Yet, by using *mutus* here, Catullus imbues the passage with more meaning and pathos than mere 'speechless', as, through his use of the term, he indicates that his brother is no longer human, no longer in existence.[92] He is dead and cut off from the human community. No matter how much Catullus attempts to converse with him in the typical human fashion, he does so in vain.[93] This Catullan passage, therefore, expands the use of *mutus* from the basic definition provided by the *OLD*: *mutus* not only is used to describe non-human animals, but also humans who have ceased to be human. More properly, then, *mutus* was associated with all non-human entities, not simply animals.

A last passage drives home this association of *mutus* with the non-human in general, while providing a bit of a divergent view. In the *Res Rusticae*, Varro distinguishes between the types of instruments that the Roman *agricola* had at his disposal:

quas res alii dividunt in duas partes, in homines et adminicula hominum, sine quibus rebus colere non possunt; alii in tres partes, instrumenti genus vocale et semivocale et mutum, **vocale**, in quo sunt servi, **semivocale**, in quo sunt boves, **mutum**, in quo sunt plaustra. *Rust.* 1.17.1.7	Some divide these things [i.e., types of instruments] into two groups: into men and man's tools, without which they cannot farm; others into three groups: the articulate kind of instrument, the inarticulate, and the mute. The articulate group consists of slaves, the inarticulate of cattle, and the mute of plows.

Instead of dividing man and beast into two groups based upon speech, Varro complicates the situation. Whereas all other instances of *mutus* as speech loss associate the term with

[91] This is the force of the *ad* in *alloquerer*.
[92] Similar to the location of the speech impaired at the fringes of civilization in the Greek tradition, Catullus' movement through many peoples (*multas per gentes*) and many waters (*multa per aequora*) can be read as moving from the speaking civilization to the non-speaking realms, here characterized by the rites of the dead (*has miseras . . . ad inferias*).
[93] Garrison *ad* 101.4: "nequiquam [is] to be understood with *alloquerer*, [as it] emphasizes the sense of futility; Catullus can address the ashes in the tomb, but they will not answer."

the inarticulate sounds of animals, Varro employs it to describe an inanimate object, a plow. Animals, here cattle, are described not as *mutus* but as *semivocalis*. Yet, even though the term is different than what is used in other authors, for present purposes, the general concept remains the same: man is distinguished from animal by articulate speech. In fact, Varro may come closest to truly conceptualizing that difference, choosing to differentiate inarticulate from articulate speech through the terms *vocale* and *semivocale* instead of *mutus* and various adjectives depicting speech.

The second subcategory of speechlessness broadens the schematic associations of *mutus* from the basic definition of the term provided by the *OLD*. This subcategory of speechlessness revolves around the concept of emotionality, and individuals who are described as *mutus* in this subcategory are depicted as *mutus* due to excessive emotions (e.g., speechless from fear, pleasure, etc.). The reason for such an association can be best explained by the Aristotelian dual conception of λόγος. For Aristotle, λόγος was the foundation both of speech and of community because the articulate speech developed by man was linked to rational thought, which, in turn, allowed civilization to form. Consequently, since the articulate speech of humans is closely related to rational thought, the removal of articulate speech as described by *mutus* is linked to the inhibition of rational thought created by emotion. In addition, Aristotle explicitly makes the point that an animal only makes a sound in order to indicate emotions such as pleasure or pain (ἡ μὲν οὖν φωνὴ τοῦ λυπηροῦ καὶ ἡδέος ἐστὶ σημεῖον, *Pol.* 1253a10). Emotions, in fact, were seen to be the governing principles that guided the animal world, as animals acted

by nature (*apo physeos*) and not by reason.[94] In Latin literature, one of the main methods in which *mutus*' association with emotion is expressed is the phrase *mutus metu*, literally 'speechless because of fear'.[95] The following three passages exemplify this use of *mutus*:

cui simul infula virgineos circumdata comptus
ex utrque pari malarum parte profusast,
et maestum simul ante aras adstare parentem
sensit et hunc propter ferrum celare ministros
aspectuque suo lacrimas effundere civis,
muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat.
Lucr. 1.87-92

Once the ribbon, bound about her virgin headbands, has poured in equal length down each of her cheeks, and once she saw her sad father standing before the altars and by him, the attendants hiding the knife and the citizens pouring forth tears at the sight of her, mute with fear, she, falling on her knees, sought the ground.

ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno
cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri
frontibus incurrunt, pavidi cessere magistri
stat pecus omne **metu mutum**, **mussantque** iuvencae
quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur.
Ver. *Aen.* 12.715-19.

And just as when on great Sila or highest Taburnus two bulls attack with their brows turned to hostile battle, the frightened masters withdraw, the whole flock stands mute with fear, and the young bulls are mum on who should rule the flock, whom the whole herds should follow.

coniugis ad timidas aliquis male sedulus aures
auditos memori rettulit ore sonos.

Some busy-body brought back overheard sounds to the timid ears of his wife with a

[94] Dierauer 223-4: "Das Tier handelt von Natur aus naturgemäß, der Mensch aber hat die Freiheit, auch naturwidrig zu handeln, im Widerspruch zu seiner Vernunftnatur zu leben . . . Die vernunftlosen Kinder und Tiere strebten nach Lust und verabscheuten Schmerz und Mühen" [The animal acts from nature in a natural manner, man, however, has the freedom to act contrary to nature, to live in opposition to his natural reason . . . the reasonless children and animals act according to emotion and detest pain and troubles]. In addition, Augustine later touches on the lack of speech denoting lack of reason in children (*infants*) in *Conf.* 1.6.8 and 1.8.13.

[95] This expression is nine times in Latin Literature: Lucr. 1.92; Cic. *In Verrem* 2.2.189.4; Ver. *Aen.* 9.341, 12.718; Livy 2.32.5.2; Lucan 1.246; Ann. Flor. *Ep. Bell.* 2.13.51; Tac. *De Or. et sinu Ger.* 1.1.2; Servius 9.339.1. In addition, *metus* is also linked with the verb *musso, mussare* ('to mutter; stand quiet), a verb of silence etymologically associated with *mutus*. Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 131 (*per metum mussari*), *Cas.* 665 (*metu mussitant*). On *musso, mussare*, cf. *Serv. Dan.* 1.152: "MUSSANT modo 'verentur' vel 'timent' significat; alias 'dubitant', ut mussat rex ipse Latinus quos generos vocet ; interdum 'susurrant', ut de apibus dicit. et proprie 'mussare' est obmurmurare et queribundum tectius velut muto esse vicinum. alias 'tacent', alias 'quiescunt'." ["Mussant" only signifies 'they are fearfully reverent' or 'they are terrified'; others 'are doubting', as King Latinus himself mutters which races he might call; meanwhile 'they whisper', as is said of bees: properly, 'to whisper' is to complain under one's breath as if one were almost mute. Some 'are silent', others 'keep quiet'.]

Procris, ut accepit nomen, quasi paelicis, Aurae,
excidit et subito **muta dolore** fuit.
palluit, ut serae lectis de vite racemis
pallescunt frondes, quas nova laesit hiems,
quaeque suos curvant matura Cydonia ramos
cornaque adhuc nostris non satis apta cibis.
ut rediit animus, tenues a pectore vestes
rumpit et indignas sauciat ungue genas,
nec mora, per medias passis **furibunda** capillis
evolat, ut thyrso concita Baccha, vias.
Ut prope perventum, comites in valle relinquit,
Ipsa nemus tacito clam pede fortis init.
Quid tibi mentis erat, cum sic male sana lateres,
Procri? quis adtoniti pectoris ardor erat?
Ov. *AA.* 3.699-714.

remembering mouth. Procis, when she received the name of Aura, as if of a rival, fainted and was suddenly mute with grief. She turned pale, as the late leaves from the picked clusters of vine pale, which the new winter injures, and as ripe quinces curve their branches, and as berries still not quite fit for our food. When her spirit returned, she plucked the thin garments from her breast and wounded her innocent cheeks with the nail; without delay, she, frenzied, flies out through the middle of the streets with her hair streaming down, as a Bacchant, incited by the thyrsus. As she came near, she leaves her companions in the valley, and herself boldly enters the grove in secret with a quiet foot. What was your mind, Procris, when thus you, insane, laid in wait? What burning of your thunderstruck heart was there?

The first of these passages is Lucretius' narration of the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis. Iphigenia, having been brought to the altar to be sacrificed, is described as terrified to the point of speechlessness. The emotions aroused by the desperate situation temporarily inhibit Iphigenia's ability to speak. Moreover, Lucretius, with his focus on the girl's inability to speak, may be looking back to the Aeschylean version, in which the maiden is gagged with a bit (χαλινός) in order to stop her from crying out a curse against her father's house (κατασχεῖν φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις).[96] Beyond his depiction of the clear inhibition of speech brought on by emotion, Lucretius also may be acknowledging the prevalent ending to this myth through his choice of *mutus* to describe speechlessness. In most versions of the myth, Iphigenia is snatched away by Artemis at the point of

[96] Aes. *Ag*. 231-238.

slaughter and replaced with an animal.[97] Lucretius may be hinting at the eventual animal sacrifice in place of Iphigenia by using *mutus*, which, as we have seen, is the typical term for depicting the speechlessness of animals. Even if that goes too far, the mere sacrificial situation (i.e., the replacement of a traditional animal sacrifice with a human victim) would most likely have brought animal imagery to mind, making *mutus* an appropriate descriptor of the victim's speechlessness.[98]

In the second passage, Vergil describes the immediate situation preceding the final battle between Aeneas and Turnus, as the rest of the soldiers from both sides stand and watch in silent amazement. Here, Vergil uses *mutus* to portray simultaneously the emotional response of the soldiers and to create an extended, intratextual simile that conflates humans with animals.[99] First, the emotions of the soldiers are highlighted as the reason why they were *muti metu*: the fear of the huge size of Turnus and Aeneas (*pavidi, metu*) and the groan of the earth created by their size[100], the uncertainty of the future facing them under the victorious warrior (*quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur*). Secondly, the use of *mutus* fits in with the deliberate use of animal imagery to describe the combatants: Turnus and Aeneas are likened to bulls (*tauri*) that come

[97] Most often, Iphigenia is transformed into a hind. However, other traditions have her turned into a bear or a calf. Cf. Eur. *IA*87ff., 358ff., 1541ff.; *Cypria argumentum* (Bernabé, PEG p. 41; Kinkel, EGF p. 19); Phanodemus, *FGrH* 325 F 14; schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645; Nicander = Ant. Lib. 27; Tzetzes, Scholiast on Lycophron 183; Scholiast on Hom. *Il.* 1.108; Hyginus *Fab*. 98; Ov. *Met.* 12.24-38; Dictys Cretensis i.19-22; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. Bode, i. pp. 6ff., 141.

[98] The conflation of animal and man also supports the general point of Lucretius in *DRN* 1: the wrongs committed in the name of Religion. If Religion requires man to slaughter each other like animals, it is irrational and goes against the evolutionary difference Lucretius describes in 5.1056ff.

[99] Tarrant *ad* 715-722: "The germ of this simile is found in Ap. Rhod. 2.88-9; Vergil has elaborated it into the longest simile in [Book 12], incorporating several details from his description of a similar bullfight in *G.* 3.219-23. The bulls in the *Georgics* compete for a heifer (*formosa iuvenca*), as Aeneas and Turnus are rivals for Lavinia".

[100] Tarrant *ad* 713: "in Homer the earth groans when a warrior falls heavily upon it, but here the violent clash of the champions produces the result".

together into battle, the remaining soldiers are portrayed as the flock (*pecus*, *iuvencae*) standing in awed silence, the soldiers are only able to maintain silence or to moo as cattle would (*mutum*, *mussant*)[101]. The consistent ambiguity between cattle and man here is reminiscent of the famous cattle at the future site of the Roman forum in *Aeneid* 8[102]: in that scene, the cattle served as a link between Rome's present and past[103]; here, Aeneas and Turnus battle for control of those cattle, the warriors who will become the ancestors of the new Roman people.[104] The use of *mutus* thus fits the context well, simultaneously bringing to the fore associations not only of speechlessness, but also the non-human and emotionality.

In the third passage, Ovid tells the tale of Cephalus and Procris, and portrays the grief of Procris upon falsely hearing that Cephalus has betrayed her with another woman.[105] Procris, having heard the name of her perceived rival, Aura, is described as speechless with grief (*muta dolore*). Ovid's use of *mutus* to define her countenance is appropriate because it fits the associations with emotion and lack of reason. She exhibits all the outward signs of emotion: she turns pale (*palluit*), she faints (*excidit*), and she loses the ability to speak.[106] In addition to her initial emotional response, Procris then

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[101] For the close relationship between *mutus* and *musso*, see n. 93 above. For the slippage between man and beast, see Wheeler 451-2. cf. Servius on 11.345. In addition, Tarrant *ad* 718: "extravagant alliteration of *m* and *mu* hints at the verb that would likely describe the animal's utterance".

[102] Verg. *Aen.* 8.360-61: *passimque* ***armenta*** *videbant* / *Romanoque foro et lautis* ***mugire*** *Carinis.*

[103] Gransden *ad* 306-389; Jenkyns 24-26.

[104] This simile of bulls competing for the control of a herd recalls Enn. *Ann*. 78-83 Sk. (*omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator . . . sic expectabant populous atque ore timebant* / *rebus utri magni Victoria sit data regni*) in which the competition between Romulus and Remus for control of their followers (i.e., the future Roman people) is described.

[105] Ovid's later and more famous story of these unlucky lovers is told in *M.* 7.661-865. Other versions of the story include Apollodorus 1.9.4, 2.4.7.2, and 3.15.1.2; Hyginus 189; Antoninus Liberalis 41.

[106] Gibson *ad* 699ff: "Procris' movements are strongly visualised: we see her rushing along the streets, in a valley, penetrating the wood by herself, and hiding in the bushes to spy on Cephalus. Procris' immediate

begins to act in tremendously irrational ways[107]: she tears the garments from her body, runs through the streets in a total frenzy (*furibunda*), and is likened to a Bacchante.[108] The comparison drawn between Procris and the Bacchants furthers the point that she is intensely emotional and devoid of reason and amplifies Ovid's use of *mutus* as her descriptor in two ways. First, the Bacchic cult was one closely associated with the removal of reason in favor of an emotional, ecstatic connection with the divinity.[109] Secondly, since the Bacchanalian Conspiracy of 186 BCE, the cult was considered – at least in part – a threat to Roman rule inasmuch as it went against the traditional dominant Roman cultural practices and endangered the foundations upon which the community was built.[110] In short, the community which, in Aristotelian terms, λόγος (speech/reason) allowed man to create, the Bacchanalian cult threatened to topple.

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departure to catch her husband *in flagrante* could not make the 'rashness' of her actions clearer to the reader."

[107] Gibson *ad* 709-10: "[*furibunda*] is the first in a series of expressions which emphasize Procris' maddened state; cf. 713 *male sana*, 714 *attoniti pectoris ardor*, 727 *anxia*."

[108] ibid.: "Bacchants, like Procris, leave homes to enter places where women usually do not go, whether mountain or forest and create havoc. But Procris will also combine this role with that of Pentheus, who, intending to spy on supposed sexual activities, **was mistaken for a wild beast** and killed" (emphasis mine).

[109] Turcan 291ff, Rüpke 31, Meyer 63. cf. Livy 39.8: "*cum uinum animos <incendissent>, et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus, **discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent**, corruptelae primum omnis generis fieri coeptae, cum ad id quisque, quo natura pronioris libidinis esset, paratam uoluptatem haberet. nec unum genus noxae, stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant, sed falsi testes, falsa signa testamentaque et indicia ex eadem officina exibant: uenena indidem intestinaeque caedes, ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent. multa dolo, pleraque per uim audebantur. occulebat uim quod prae ululatibus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu nulla uox quiritantium inter stupra et caedes exaudiri poterat.*" On *pudor* as a distinguishing feature of humanity, see Kaster 28-65.

[110] Livy 39.8-19; *ILS* 18; *ILLRP* 511; *IG* ix.1^2 670 Rüpke 33: "The year 186 BCE seems to have been the first occasion when the worship of a prestigious and prominent deity was perceived as a real threat to the community." cf. Beard, North and Price 95: "It must have been the power over individuals obtained by the group's leaders that would have seemed so radically new and dangerous to the Roman élite. They had been accustomed to control religious life; now they faced a movement in some sense in opposition to the traditions of state religious life, generated by the personal commitment of individuals. For more on the suppression of the cult, see Gruen 1990, 65-78 and North 1979.

Describing one acting like a Bacchante as *muta* and devoid of λόγος, is, therefore, entirely appropriate.

Beyond the associations with emotion that *mutus* activated here, those with the non-human are also brought to bear through Procris' actions: after she tears through the streets, she leaves her companions and flees into the woods, hunting Cephalus as an animal would and retaining her silence (*comites in valle relinquit, ipsa nemus* ***tacito*** *clam* ***pede*** *fortis init*, 711-2).[111] Therefore, Ovid's use of the word *muta* to describe Procris' reaction to the news of supposed adultery highlights the associations that the word had with the non-human and emotionality. She is quite literally struck dumb by grief and, from that moment, engages in most irrational behavior. Her emotions get the better of her, and she acts as an animal, responding simply to impulse and emotion.

As can be seen through the passages above, ancient conceptions of speechlessness maintained currency in the literature of Ovid's time, and we should expect him to be familiar and to interact with them. Speech was seen as a fundamental aspect of rational, communal humanity; any loss of that ability moved one into the realm of the non-human, as animals and inanimate objects were seen as devoid of reason and unable to create community. In the passages examined above, this conception of speech loss was traced into a schematic model through the term *mutus*, a traditional manner of describing the lack of articulate speech. Along with the presence of speechlessness, it was shown that

[111] Gibson *ad* 711-12: "*fortis* of a woman is appropriate to a huntress. . . Indeed in many other versions of the story, including the *Metamorphoses* (7.746), Procris is herself a huntress. However, the absence of explicit comment on this fact in *Ars* 3 helps the suggestion that Procris has entered a forbidden environment."

the salient associations of such a lack of articulate speech were the non-human and emotionality.

It is against this background of speech loss, the non-human and emotionality, that the pattern of speech loss developed by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and manipulated by him in the exile literature must be read. Throughout the stories of change in the *Metamorphoses*, characters are often changed into animals and their emotions at such a change are explored in order to heighten the *pathos* of the scene. Likewise, in the exile literature Ovid continuously depicts his movement towards barbarism and does so through emotional outbursts. However, what this schematic background does not account for, and what makes Ovid's pattern of speech loss unique, is the inclusion of the written medium as a means of renegotiating one's emotions, regaining one's voice, and returning to one's human community. It is to this pattern of speech loss, therefore, to which I will now turn.

Chapter II: Speech and Community in the *Metamorphoses*

"Gregor erschrak, als er seine antwortende Stimme hörte, die wohl unverkennbar seine frühere war, in die sich aber, wie von unten her, ein nicht zu unterdrückendes, schmerzliches Piepsen mischte, das die Worte förmlich nur im ersten Augenblick in ihrer Deutlichkeit beließ, um sie im Nachklang derart zu zerstören, daß man nicht wußte, ob man recht gehört hatte."
-F. Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*[112]

In Franz Kafka's *Metamorphosis* (*Die Verwandlung*), the protagonist Gregor Samsa wakes up to find that he has been magically and inexplicably transformed into an enormous insect. The passage quoted above is from early in the story. Gregor has not seen himself, but has begun to suspect that something is different, as he is unable to speak in his normal voice. Although he can clearly identify that it is, in fact, his voice, it is mixed with a painful squeaking (schmerzliches Piepsen) that distorts his spoken words into an almost unintelligible reverberation (Nachklang). Soon afterwards, Gregor discovers that his voice is distorted because his former faculty of human articulation has been replaced by a new insectean buzzing.

The transformation of Gregor that begins with his realization of his new voice emphasizes some of the major themes of the *Metamorphosis* and, indeed, of all of Kafka's works: alienation, the absurdity of life, and the disconnect between mind and body. The main method employed by Kafka to achieve the expression of these concepts is the nature of Gregor's transformation. The *pathos* and absurdity at which Kafka was aiming only works because Gregor's transformation is not complete: although his

[112] "Gregor was shocked when he heard his answering voice, which surely seemed to be his earlier one; yet into this voice a somewhat oppressive, painful squeaking had mixed itself, as from below, a squeaking that only left his words completely comprehensible in the first moment, then distorting them in reverberation in such a manner that one couldn't tell if one had heard them correctly."

physical appearance had taken on a completely new and alien form, his human mind remained intact.[113] It is Gregor's anguish at the realization of his transformation that provides the opportunity for Kafka to explore issues of alienation, absurdity, and disconnection. Had Gregor entirely become an insect, he would never have been conscious of that fact.

This type of incomplete transformation, however, was not an entirely Kafkan innovation, but perhaps had its roots in Ovid's tales of metamorphosis.[114] The prevailing notion of the Ovidian conception of incomplete transformation is the concept of 'wavering identity' first introduced by Hermann Fränkel and expanded upon by subsequent scholars.[115] This concept is present in nearly all of Ovid's tales of metamorphosis: when a character is transformed, s/he is only changed physically; the

[113] Ziolkowski 78-79: "Gregor Samsa's sudden transformation into a great insect constitutes a textbook case of metonymic metamorphosis: as in the case of Actæon, his metamorphosis is not foretold by his name; as there – a point emphasized by Ovid in order to heighten the horror of this fate – his mind remains constant during his ordeal." Likewise, von Albrecht 78, although writing about Ovid's use of incomplete metamorphosis and his use of short thoughts to emphasize *pathos*, equates it to Kafka's style: "Nichts ist rührender als diese gedachten Reden; dokumentieren sie doch den schmerzhaften Widerspruch zwischen Idee und Wirklichkeit, zwischen dem fortdauernden menschlichen Bewusstsein und der fremden Tiergestalt, zwischen dem Willen zur Mitteilung und der tatsächlichen Unmöglichkeit einer Kommunikation. Instruktive Parallelen hierzu Ovids Geschichte von Io und Kafkas Erzählung *Die Verwandlung*." [Nothing is more touching than these internal monologues; they document the painful contradiction between Idea and Reality, between the enduring human consciousness and the alien animal form, between the desire to connect and the actual impossibility of communication. Instructive parallels include Ovid's narrative of Io and Kafka's story, *The Metamorphosis*.]

[114] Levine 149-177; Ziolkowski 78-82.

[115] Fränkel 79-89 provides the foundational discussion of Ovidian metonymic metamorphosis. Cf. Doblhofer 227-228. More recently scholars have moved away from Fränkel's suggestion that wavering identity was indicative of authors in Ovid's time period who were positioned in a sort of nether region between paganism and Christianity; instead, they have attributed the presence of metonymic metamorphosis to other linguistic and poetic reasons. The most recent and comprehensive treatment of wavering identity is Hardie 2002, which gives an informative overview of the scholarly response to Fränkel (pp.27-29). For an analysis focused more on poetic aesthetics, see Rosati 1983. For one with a more linguistic bent, see Tissol. For a more psychological, thematic explanation, see Galinsky 1975, 48-61.

character, however, retains the human ability to rationalize and to comprehend.[116] In the Aristotelian terms from the previous chapter, a transformed character loses only one half of his/her λόγος: although the change in physical form has removed the character's ability to produce articulate speech, the character's ability to rationalize and to construct identity remains intact. Consequently, the opportunity for the character to create community with others also remains intact. It is this opportunity that Ovid seeks to emphasize and express in the *Metamorphoses*, and the most frequent vehicle through which he attempts to do so is stories involving speech loss.

In the previous chapter, I laid out two concepts foundational to the discussion of speech loss in Ovid and with which this chapter will deal. First, I identified speech loss as a frequent motif in Ovidian literature and discussed some of the major scholarly positions on it. Second, I attempted to frame my discussion of speech loss in Ovid by indicating the major cognitive associations with speech loss in the time period spanning from the beginning of the 1st century BCE to Ovid's death in 18 CE. The schematic model produced from that discussion showed that speech loss was associated with the non-human, emotionality/lack of reason, and the subsequent curtailment of community through such lack of reason.

In this chapter, I will turn to the manner in which Ovid interacted with and innovated upon this schematic model through his use of the motif of speech loss in the

[116] Boillat 23: "Il n'existe pratiquement pas de métamorphoses totales. La disparition d'une forme n'entraîne pas l'apparition d'un être essentiellement différent." [Essentially, there exists no type of total metamorphosis. The disappearance of a form does not the appearance of an essentially different being]. Boillat terms this transformation of outward appearance *déguisement*; however, he extends his definition of metamorphosis to include multiple categories: *apothéose, metamorphose imaginaire, métamorphose de penchant, déguisement, metamorphose intérieure*, and *metamorphoses dans les deux sens*.

Metamorphoses. In that work, Ovid mentions speech loss in roughly 40 of the 250 stories (Appendix A). In each of these episodes, Ovid routinely associates speech loss with the non-human, the emotional, and the curtailment of community. When a character is transformed from a human into a non-human (e.g., an animal, an inanimate object, a plant), like Kafka, Ovid focuses his attention on the character's inability to speak in his/her transformed state.[117] Likewise, oftentimes when a character is transformed into a speechless animal, Ovid indicates that the character also experiences an increase in emotion. As a result of the transformed character's speech loss and heightened emotion, the character is also removed from community, as s/he is no longer able to communicate with it.[118]

Yet, as these characters are not entirely transformed and are in an ambiguous state, they need not be permanently cut off from community. In fact, Ovid uses this notion to emphasize the complete opposite. In the case of some characters, Ovid provides a method by which they can communicate, state their identity, and reconnect with society: the written medium. Through writing, characters are able both to replace speech as a vehicle of communication and, possibly, to regain their human form altogether.

In order to explore Ovid's innovation in stories of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses*, this chapter will be divided into two sections. First, I will examine tales

[117] Solodow 189: "The loss which Ovid dwells on most often is the loss of speech."
[118] Cf. Solodow 190: "Metamorphosis renders statement useless: appearance and action alone tell who a person is. In taking away speech metamorphosis robs [a character] of the power to name himself, to form or change his self, to feign another." In addition, Altieri 35: "[The failure of speech] exemplifies the fact that the person transformed can no longer create his own identity or his present reality but becomes captured in the materiality of natural force."

of speech loss in which Ovid exhibits the traditional features of the schematic model of speech loss: the non-human and the emotional. This section will place Ovidian depictions of speech loss within the larger context of speech loss in antiquity. I have chosen five narratives that exemplify this aspect of the Ovidian depictions of speech loss: Lycaon, Callisto, Actæon, Echo, and Dryope. These five stories represent the narratives with the fullest depiction of speech loss and, subsequently, provide the best, most substantial handlings to analyze. The other tales of speech loss are listed in Appendix A.

Second, I will turn to the stories of speech loss in which Ovid innovated within the schematic model through the inclusion of the written medium as a communicative means of reintegration with society. The two tales discussed in this section are those of Io and Philomela, two verbally gifted characters who, after having their speech stripped from them, transfer their communicative skills to the written medium (in particular, poetry in the written medium). This section will highlight Ovid's unique construction of the relationship between speech loss, identity, and community in the *Metamorphoses* and will set the stage for my discussion in Chapter 3 of how Ovid used his own conception of speech loss and the written medium of poetry as a major motif in his exile literature.

Speech Loss and the Traditional Schema

As I discussed in Chapter 1, the basic concepts that were associated with speech loss in Ovid's Rome were the non-human and the emotional/non-rational. Speech (i.e., articulate speech) was seen as a uniquely human characteristic, and any non-human entity, therefore, was barred from exhibiting it. Likewise, humans who were

experiencing high levels of emotion tended to be described as temporarily bereft of the ability to speak. In the stories that follow, Ovid works within this traditional schema of speech loss, associating speechlessness with 1) characters who were transformed from their human state into a non-human state and 2) characters who were so overcome with emotion that they were transformed from their human state and, consequently, became speechless.

Lycaon

The first story of transformation in the *Metamorphoses* is also the one in which Ovid introduces the theme of speech loss: Lycaon. Although there are multiple versions of the myth of Lycaon extant, the major thrust of the story is that Lycaon committed hubristic sacrilege against Zeus and, consequently, was transformed into a wolf.[119] The Ovidian handling of the myth, however, seems to be the only one to focus explicitly on Lycaon's metamorphosis and not on his crime.[120] Perhaps as a result of this shift in

[119] Earlier versions of the myth are from Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheke* 3.8.1-2; Tzetzes (scholiast on Lycophron 481); Hyginus 176; Nicolaus Damascenus FGH 90 F 38, as reported in the 10th c. A.D. by Suidas; Pseudo-Eratosthenes, *Catasterismoi* 8. Later sources include Pausanias 8.3.1ff. All of these sources generally agree on the metamorphosis of Lycaon into a wolf. However, they differ on the victim of his human meal and on the identification of his sons. Bömer 94-5, as well as ancient sources, state his human meal as the beginning of the Arcadian tradition of human sacrifice. Cf. Anderson *ad* 226-7: "Scholars think that the idea may go back to a prehistoric practice of human sacrifice in Arcadia." Nevertheless, *none* of the extent sources make any reference to his speech deprivation. For more on the history of the Lycaon myth, Cf. Forbes-Irving 216-218.

[120] This is consistent with the Ovidan penchant for describing the grotesque, which has typically been seen as a precursor to the focus on the grotesque in early imperial Latin literature (Cf. Conte 1999, 354-5). Cf. Galinsky 1975, 110-157; p. 126-7: "For often [Ovid] grotesquely exaggerates the scenes of suffering and takes an almost morbid delight in the varied contortions of agony . . . Ovid revels in ever new ways of imagining how bodies can be mangled, maimed, and disintegrated. Death becomes a ludicrous and sensational event, which the poet views without any empathy with its victims."

focus, Ovid's narration is the only extant version of the myth that mentions Lycaon's loss of speech. As such, it seems likely that Ovid created this portion of the tale.

Ovid's focus on speech and speech loss can be seen throughout the passage. First, Lycaon is introduced as a clever man capable of speaking, and Ovid emphasizes this ability by allowing him to speak in *oratio recta* and to assume the role of narrator:

. . . Inridet primo pia vota Lycaon, mox ait 'experiar, deus hic, discrimine aperto, an sit mortalis; nec erit dubitabile verum.' *Met.* 1.221-3	. . . At first, Lycaon scoffed at the pious votives; soon, he says: "Let me try with a clear test whether this is a god or a mortal; the truth will be undoubtable".

Ovid, as he will do elsewhere (e.g., Actæon, Philomela), shows the audience the character to be transformed has the ability to speak in order to emphasize the later removal of speech.

Second, the actual transformation of Lycaon is focused on speech loss and its associations with emotion, the non-human, and the loss of community:

territus ipse **fugit** nactusque **silentia ruris** **exululat** frustraque **loqui conatur**: ab ipso colligit os rabiem solitaque cupidine caedis vertititur in pecudes et nunc quoque sanguine gaudet. *Met.* 1.232-5)	He himself, terrified, flees, and, having reached the silence of the countryside, howls and tries in vain to speak: from his form his mouth gathers foam and he is drawn to the flocks by the accustomed desire for slaughter and now rejoices also in blood.

From the beginning of the metamorphosis, Ovid shows the progression of Lycaon's transformation with a tricolon as it moves from 1) initial fear and flight to 2) howling and retreat to the countryside and lastly to 3) the final realization of transformation through the loss of speech.[121] First, Ovid shows the heightened emotion traditionally associated

[121] Bömer 96 comments that the suddenness of the metamorphosis emphasizes its importance to the narrative: "Die Verwandlung ist plötzlich eingetreten; diese Art der Verwandlung kommt in verschiedenen

with speech loss, as the self-assured character who had earlier chosen himself to pass judgement on Zeus is now reduced to fear and flight (*territus ipse fugit*). Then, Ovid shows Lycaon's removal from society, as he forsakes the city and takes up the silent countryside, howling upon his arrival.[122] The phrase *silentia ruris* serves two purposes here: 1) to provide a stark contrast to the sound of Lycaon's howling[123] and 2) to mark the silence of the animals that inhabit the countryside, who, being non-human, lack the ability to speak. Now, Lycaon finds himself a part of the animal world, a fact that may be gleaned from an alternate meaning for *nanciscor*: not only does the term mean 'to happen upon' or 'to reach' – as is the traditional translation of its occurrence in Lycaon's transformation – but it also can mean 'to receive by birth'.[124] Here, Lycaon is receiving animality as part of his nature, perhaps one that had always been a part of him.[125]

Formen vor und ist vergleichsweise selten, da die Schilderung des Vorgangs zu den wichtigen Anliegen unserer Dichtung gehört." [The transformation has been sudden; this kind of transformation occurs in different forms and is comparatively rare, as the description of the act is among the major concerns of our poetry.]. Likewise, Barchiesi *ad* 1.233 points to the horrible nature of the sound: "prima di questo passo exululo ricorre solo in senso metaforico, in Cicerone, *Leg*. 11.19, in una critica degli eccessi grotteschi del canto contemporaneo." [Prior to this passage, *exululo* occurs only in a metaphorical sense, in Cicero, *Leg*. 11.19, in a critique of the grotesque excesses of contemporary singing].

[122] Moreover, Lycaon's removal from his community is amplified by the destruction of his house: *ego vindice flamma / in domino dignos everti tecta penates* (*Met.* 1.230-1). Cf. Cicero *De Divinatione* 2.21 for other ramifications of Jove's thunderbolt and the *relegati*. Many thanks to Dr. Jennifer Ebbeler for this reference.

[123] Anderson *ad* 1.233: "It is now clear why Ovid mentioned the *silent* countryside: the howls seem to sound all the more."

[124] *Oxford Latin Dictionary ad* 'nanciscor': "'to possess by birth, to have by nature': *maleficam (naturam) nactus est in corpore fingendo*, Nep *Ages*. 8."

[125] Galinsky (1975) 42-47. In particular, p. 45: "The physical characteristics of the personages are subject to change, but their quintessential substance lives on." Cf. also de Levita 77ff. Anderson on 232: "The human beast turns into the literal beast that his behavior most suggests: a perfect moral allegory." Barchiesi *ad* 1.237: "la forma naturale del lupo lascerebbe dunque trasparire la permenenza della forma orginaria." [the natural form of the wolf would leave, then reveal the permanence of the original form]. Barchiesi *ad* 1.198 also notes the foreshadowing of Lycaon's transformation into a fierce wolf through the phrase *feritate Lycaon*: "il nome proprio merita attenzione: occupa l'ultima posizione nell'intero discorso, secondo una precisa strategia retorica, e l'accostamento con 'feritas' suggerisce, attraverso l'etimologia dela nome da λύκος 'lupo', una motivazione anticipata della metamorfosi." [Its name deserves attention: it occupies the

Finally, after two lines of build-up, Ovid delivers the final third of his tricolon: Lycaon's realization that he cannot speak, but can only howl (*frustraque loqui conatur*). Lycaon's ability to produce articulate speech (*loqui*) is replaced by a new sound that is emphasized by the repetition of 'v' and 'u' in the following lines (***v**ertit**u**r in pec**u**des et n**u**nc q**u**oq**u**e sang**u**ine ga**u**det. / in **v**illos abe**u**nt **v**estes, in cr**u**ra lacerti: / fit l**u**p**u**s et **v**eteris ser**v**at **v**estigia formae: / canities eadem, eadem **v**iolentia **vu**lt**u**s*, *Met.* 1.235-8), which imitates the sound of howling.[126] Likewise, as Frederick Ahl has noted, the description of Lycaon's howling emphasizes his movement from member of society to an exile through the inclusion of the word *exul* in the term ***exul**ulare*.[127] When he loses the ability to speak, Lycaon loses the ability to communicate with his society.[128]

Therefore, Lycaon's transformation is one replete with connections to speech loss. Moreover, the traditional schematic associations apply, as Lycaon's speech loss goes hand in hand with heightened emotion, transformation into a non-human, and the loss of community. Furthermore, as the first story of metamorphosis in Ovid's work, it gains paradigmatic force and provides the model of metamorphosis for the other tales to

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last position in the entire speech, with a clear rhetorical strategy, and the combination with *feritas* suggests, through the etymology of the name λύκος, 'wolf', a motivation anticipating metamorphosis].

[126] Barchiesi *ad* 1.236-8: "l'abbondanza di vocali -*u*- e di semivocali -*v*- fa pensare a una mimesi obliqua del lamento del lupo." ["The frequency of the vocalic 'u' and the semivocalic 'v' suggests a slight imitation of the lament the wolf].

[127] Ahl 1985, 72ff, but especially 72: "LYCaon flees into the silent countryside – *silentia RURis* (1.232); when he tries to speak, he howls, *EXULulat* (1.233). The verb is well chosen, since it carries within it *EXUL*, 'exile': he runs howling into exile, where is transformation into a wolf is completed."

[128] ibid, 59ff. and Ziogas 2011: "While morphing into a wolf, Lycaon first becomes an exile from human society, and as a consequence loses his ability to speak."

follow.[129] By spending so much time on speech and speech loss in this story, therefore, Ovid sets it up as a major motif for the metamorphoses to come.

Callisto

In Book 2, Ovid returns to the family of Lycaon and tells the tale of the metamorphosis of his daughter, Callisto. Like the myth of Lycaon, there are several permutations extant of a central core concept: Callisto, the daughter of Lycaon, was raped by Jupiter, gave birth to a son, Arcas, and was transformed into a bear.[130] In Ovid's version, Juno, jealous of Callisto's affair with Jupiter, transforms the maiden into a bear as a form of punishment through isolation.[131] As we saw in the case of the Lycaon narrative, this Ovidian version of Callisto's tale is distinct from the other extant versions in that it focuses the narrative on Callisto's loss of speech, her loss of identity, and, consequently, her loss of community.[132] These three concepts can be seen sequentially in the passage of her transformation:[133]

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[129] Anderson *ad* 1.210: "The story of Lycaon serves as the first narration of human metamorphosis, and we might expect it to be paradigmatic. It is in some ways, but not in all." For more on the role of metamorphosis in the *Metamorphoses*, see Solodow 175-6.

[130] The most notable versions are those of Eumelos, Hesiod, Asios, Pherekydes, all whom are cited in Apollodorus *Bibliotheke* 3.8.2ff. Also of note are Hyginus 177 and a somewhat contemporaneous version in Ovid *Fasti* 2.155-92. For more on the tradition of the Callisto myth, see Otis 116ff. and 350ff., and Forbes-Irving 202-205.

[131] Payne 125: "Human beings given animal form do not understand what it is like to be the animal they have become: Callisto as a bear is still afraid of wild animals, including other bears (2.493-95). What they and those who encounter them do gain is a new understanding of their limitations, the knowledge that human beings are subject to divine fiats they cannot anticipate or control, and that what they are given to inhabit in any form is an animal body with certain capabilities and not others."

[132] Cf. Anderson *ad.* 2.401-530: "The detail of Apollodorus permits us to see how wide a choice of incident and of causation Ovid had; and it also suggests that the special emphasis he gives to the act of metamorphosis and the conception of the human consequences inside the animal shape are peculiarly Ovidian realizations of the myth's possibilities."

[133] Barchiesi *ad* 2.476-88: "Ovidio gestice la metamorfosi come un racconto dell'orrore, lavorando su una sequenza di dettagli fisici isolati, e fornisce solo in una parentesi quasi casuale, 485 *ursa*, la verità

‘haud impune feres: adimam tibi namque figuram,
qua tibi, quaque places nostro, inportuna, marito.’
dixit et adversam prensis a fronte capillis
stravit humi pronam. tendebat bracchia supplex:
bracchia coeperunt nigris horrescere villis
curvarique manus et aduncos crescere in unguis
officioque pedum fungi laudataque quondam
ora Iovi lato fieri deformia rictu.
neve preces animos et verba precantia flectant,
posse loqui eripitur: vox iracunda minaxque
plenaque terroris rauco de gutture fertur;
mens antiqua tamen facta quoque mansit in ursa,
adsiduoque suos gemitu testata dolores
qualescumque manus ad caelum et sidera tollit
ingratumque Iovem, nequeat cum dicere, sentit.
a! quotiens, sola non ausa quiescere silva,
ante domum quondamque suis erravit in agris!
a! quotiens per saxa canum latratibus acta est
venatrixque metu venantum territa fugit!
saepe feris latuit visis, oblita quid esset,
ursaque conspectos in montibus horruit ursos
pertimuitque lupos, quamvis pater esset in illis.
(*Meta*. 2.474-495)

“You shall hardly go unpunished: for I shall take away your beauty, in which you and your husband take pleasure, crude girl.” She spoke and flung Callisto down by the hair until her face lay on the ground. Callisto, suppliant, kept holding out her arms: her arms began to grow shaggy with thick black hair, and her hands to curve and to grow into hooked claws and did the duty of her feet, and the mouth once praised by Jove became deformed by a broad muzzle. So that neither prayers nor prayerful words could change his mind, the ability to speak was taken from her: a voice angy and threatening and full of terror is borne from her hoarse throat; yet still her original mind remained in the formed bear; she bears witness to her grief with constant groaning and raises whatever hands she has to the sky and stars; she thinks Jove ungrateful, although she is unable to speak. Ah! How many times did she not dare to relax alone in the forest; did she wander into the fields before her former home! Ah! How many times was she, a huntress, driven among the rocks by the barking of dogs, and, terrified by the fear of the prey, did she flee! Often she hid when wild animals appeared; she, a bear (yet forgetful of what she was) shuddered at other bears she saw on the mountains, and feared wolves terribly, although her father was among them.

In the first section of the passage (2.474-81), Ovid, as he so often does, shows us the actual transformation of Callisto as it progresses through her body. It begins with her arms (*bracchia*), moving slowly to her hands (*manus*) and fingernails (*ungues*). The climax of the transformation, however, is the last aspect of Callisto that is transformed: her face and speech. Our vantage point shifts from Callisto’s extremities to her transformed face (*ora*), as Juno makes good on her promise to destroy the beauty that

definitiva della nuova forma.” [Ovid treats the metamorphosis as a horror story, working on a sequence of isolated physical details, and provides only a parenthesis almost randomly, *ursa*, the definitive truth of new form.]

delights her husband (474-5).[134] However, *ora* here is not simply referring to the face as a whole, but its more specific, semantic meaning of the part of the face that speaks.[135] Maurizio Bettini, in his recent study on communication and identity in antiquity, provides a detailed discussion of *os, oris*:[136]

In Latin, *os* has strong connotaions: it evokes a capacity that chiefly distinguishes human beings from other animate creatures: language. For Latin speakers, the connection between *os* and words such as *oro* or *orator* was probably immediately recognizable. But even ignoring etymological speculation, such common idioms as *in ore esse* ("to be much spoken of"), *uno ore* ("by general agreement") and *aperire ora* ("to speak") leave little doubt about the relationship between *os* and *oro*. Likewise the great number of passages in which *os* is used in the sense of 'discourse, speech,' 'the sound of voice' or 'pronunciation'. ***Os* is first and foremost 'speech'"** (Bettini 2010, 135) **[Bolded emphasis mine]**.

In addition to destroying Callisto's beautiful appearance by changing her human mouth into a broad muzzle, Juno also robs her of her ability to speak articulately, as the broad muzzle of a bear is unable to form human words. The reading of *ora* as regarding speech as well as beauty helps to make sense of the subsequent lines. As she attempts to pray to the gods for help, she is not able to articulate *verba* and *preces*. Her articulate voice, her *vox*, is transformed from a human voice to one that is described as angry (*iracunda*) and threatening (*minaxque*), whose harshness is emphasized by the rare trisyllabic ending to an Ovidian hexameter line.[137] The fact that her voice is borne from

[134] Anderson *ad* 2.480-1: "Ovid refers back to Juno's threat in 474-5 to destroy the beauty that delights her husband . . . Juno does more than destroy the lovely face: she distorts it into something truly ugly and frightening."
[135] Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.9.17: *moderationem vocis, orationis vim, quae conciliatrix est humanae maxime societatis*. Also, Cf. Ernout-Miller 1965, s.vv. *os* and *oro*.
[136] For his full analysis, see Bettini 2010, 134-136.
[137] Cf. Anderson *ad* 2.282-4: Callisto's transformation from human speech to animal utterance is emphasized by Ovid's use of the caesura. For more on *vox* as a marker of articulate speech, Cf. the analysis of the Echo narrative below.

her throat (*rauco de gutture fertur*) and not a *lingua* emphasizes the fact that she, transformed, is no longer able to produce articulate speech, but is reduced to an inarticulate roar.[138] Still, though her speech is lost, Ovid takes care to emphasize that her essence remains intact (*mens antiqua tamen . . . mansit*).[139]

With her speech having been removed, Callisto's conception of herself, her identity, begins to waver, and the rest of the passage emphasizes this confusion. Resorting to an all too human act of supplication, she attempts to pray to the gods, creating a pathetic and somewhat humorous scene in which a bear raises its paws to the heavens for assistance.[140] Although Callisto is unable to articulate her pain through prayer, she still is able to communicate in a fashion with the gods, as Jupiter is said to have felt (*sensit*) her message, despite her inability to speak (*nequeat cum dicere*). Anderson remarks that this is possible because "one of the sounds which human beings and animals share is that of groaning. Callisto voices her agony. As the adjectives in 483-84 suggest, in bears that same sound usually connotes anger, menace, and

[138] Cf. the Vitruvian passage on the development of human language (p. 24). There is a distinction is made between inarticulate *voces* and articulate *vocabula* and *sermones*.

[139] Cf. *Met.* 1.234ff., 1.710, 3.203, 9.320, 5.224. Anderson *ad* 2.485-6: "Here is the ingenious theme that Ovid discovered in metamorphosis and made the inspiration for later writers such as Kafka. He had implied it in the case of Io; here he states it to accord with the greater seriousness of his presentation. He will restate it once more to capture the greater tragedy of Actæon. Continuity between new and old form was a traditional topic, and Ovid emphasizes the point not only with this verb [i.e., *mansit*] but also by such words as *servare, nunc quoque, adhuc, etiam, idem*. **Continuity of human consciousness is Ovid's innovation**." Cf. also Barchiesi *ad* 2.476-88: "La tradizione per cui la mente può mantenersi stabile nella metamorfosi da uomo ad animale ha le sue radici in Omero, *Od* X.240 sg., dove i compagni di Ulisse mutati in porci da Cicrce hanno dei porci 'teste, voce, setole, corpo', ma la mente era 'salda, come quella di prima', per cui vengono rinchiusi nel porcile 'piangenti', e anche *Il*. XXIV 67 (Niobe) 'mutata in pietra dagli dei, cova la sua sofferenza'." [**The tradition in which the mind is able to remain constant in the metamorphosis of a man into an animal has its roots in Homer, *Od.* 10.240ff.,** where the companions of Odysses, changed into pigs by Circe, have the 'heads, voice, bristles and body' of pigs, but the mind was 'firm as it was before', through which those in the pigsty are 'weeping', and also *Il*. 24.67 (Niobe) 'having been changed into a rock by the gods, expresses her suffering]. For more, see Bömer 359-60.

[140] Galinsky 1975 194-196.

fearsomeness."[141] Although Callisto is not able to articulate the particulars of her pain as a bear, she is nonetheless able to communicate that she is suffering.

However, as there is no reply from Jupiter, Callisto assumes that her appeals have failed and that she is isolated and alone. Such isolation is emphasized by the final portion of this passage (2.488-95), as Callisto is trapped between two worlds, the animal and the human, never fully fitting into either.[142] Not wholly animal, she cannot stay in the woods, but attempts to return to her human abode (*domum*) and the civilized fields (*agris*).[143] The verb *quiescere*, which describes the alternative to returning to her previous home, emphasizes the silence of the non-speaking animal realm, as *silentia ruris* had done in the case of Lycaon.[144]

Likewise, Callisto's isolation is amplified by her inability to connect with any community of which she had previously been a part. First, although Callisto still considers herself to be a huntress (*venatrix*), she was driven by fear away from the sound of dogs and hunters.[145] Such a flight belies Callisto's identity crisis, as she cannot understand why she is frightened by members of a community of which she is supposedly a part. The fear that envelops her now is that of animal nature and *metu territa* should be read as a close synonym of *mutus metu*, the fear associated with non-human

[141] Anderson *ad* 2.485-6.
[142] Cf. to the metamorphosis of Lycaon, which simply revealed his true character.
[143] *Ager* here has the force of property (i.e., *ager privatus* or *publicus*). The idea is that the land is not simply a field, but that it belongs to a community, as the reflexive possessive *suis* indicates. Cf. Varr. *L.L.* 7.2.84; Plaut. *Am.* 1.1.38; Cic. *Agr.* 3.2; Quint. 4.2.131; Caes. *B.G.* 1.2; Nep. *Paus.* 3; Sall. *C.* 36.1; Liv. 2.16. Cf. to the contrast in Ovid's second telling of this story in *F.* 2.181: *ursa per incultos errabat squalida montes*.
[144] Anderson *ad* 2.489-90: "Ironically, [Callisto's] previous rest in the woods [i.e., the previous use of *quiescere* in the story] had led to her rape."
[145] The motif of the hunted hunter will be repeated in the story of Actaeon. cf Barchiesi *ad* 2.489-90.

speechlessness.[146] Second, beyond connecting with her hunting community, she cannot even reconnect with her family, as she is terrified by wolves, a group in which, according to Ovid, her father was numbered. This inability to reconnect with her father stems from her inability to recognize herself, as Ovid points out that she is *oblita quid esset*. Not only does her identity crisis prohibit the realization that she is a bear and should not fear wolves, but it also keeps her from understanding that she herself has been transformed in the same manner in which her father had been.[147] If she had realized this, although she may not have been able to locate her father in a pack of wolves, she might have found a connection with her family, as she had suffered the same fate as her father.[148]

The transformation of Callisto, therefore, follows the same basic schema of speech loss as the metamorphosis of Lycaon did. Having become non-human, Callisto loses her ability to speak and, consequently, loses her community. In contrast with the Lycaon episode, Ovid focuses more on Callisto's psychological anguish: the identity crisis and inability to reconnect with any form of past community, neither with her friends nor her family. However, the fact that she retains her basic ability to rationalize does allow for a glimmer of hope, as she is able to communicate somewhat with Jupiter, although she is unaware of this fact and unable to communicate in any way with humanity. Still, the opportunity provided by the persistence of the human mind is one that will be exploited by Ovid in other stories of metamorphosis.

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[146] For more on *mutus metu*, see Chapter 1.

[147] Anderson *ad* 2.493-5: "With her human consciousness, Callisto does not just 'forget': she never can realize and come to terms with her animality."

[148] Cf. Anderson *ad* 2.493-5: "Logically, her father should be inside *one* wolf . . . How is it comforting that her father is in a wolf-pack, when she cannot distinguish him and he cannot identify her?"

Actæon

In Book 3, Ovid continues to explore the motif of speech loss with the story of Actæon (3.138-252). As with the tales of Lycaon and Callisto, the myth of Actæon did not originate with Ovid, but is well attested in the Greek tradition, and multiple versions have come down from antiquity.[149] In all of these versions, however, the core of the myth remains essentially unchanged: the hunter Actæon stumbles upon the nude goddess Diana, is transformed by her into a stag as a form of punishment, and finally is killed by his own hunting dogs, which are unable to recognize their master in his transformed state.[150] As with the other stories examined above, the Ovidian version deviates from the other permutations: whereas the previous stories of Actæon focused more on the *error* of Actæon and the harsh punishment of Diana,[151] Ovid shifts the focus more towards

[149] Most notable are Philo. *De Piet.* 60 Gomperz = Hesiod fr. 346 M-W; *POxy* 30.2509; Diod. Sic. 4.81.4; Eur. *Bacchae* 337-40, Call. 5, Ps.-Apollod. *Bibliotheke* 3.30ff.; Nonnus 5.287ff.; Stesichorus fr. 236 Davies, *PMCG* = Paus. 9.2.3; Acusilaus *FGrH* 1 2 F 33 Jacoby; P. Mich. inv 1447; Aes. *Toxotides* (frr. 417-424 Mette), *Semele* (frr. 354-362 Mette); Hyginus 180. For a more in-depth discussion of the mythological tradition of Actæon, see Bömer 487; Renner 1978, 282-7; Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.138-252; and Forbes-Irving 197-201.

[150] The two major divergent versions are P. Mich. inv 1447 (Cf. Renner 1978), wherein Actæon was transformed into the appearance of a stag and not into an actual stag:

Ἀκταίων ὁ Ἀρισταί[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ[τονόης, τῶν Σεμέ-]
λης ἐφιέμενος γάμων αυτ[ca. 14]
το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς ca. 6 μετεμορ-]
φώθη εἰ[ς] ἐλάφου δόκησιν διὰ βο[υλὴν] Ἀρτέμ[ι-]
δος καὶ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐ[α]υτ[οῦ] κυνῶν, ὥ[ς]
φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Κα[τ]αλ[ό]γωι;

In addition, Hyginus 180, wherein Actæon tries to rape Diana (*Actaeon Arist<a>ei et Autonoes filius pastor Dianam lauantem speculatus est et eam uiolare uoluit. ob id irata Diana fecit ut ei cornua in capite nascerentur et a suis canibus consumeretur*).

[151] Forbes-Irving 80-90 sees the pre-Ovidian, Greek tradition of the Actæon myth as intensely engaged in both the theme of sexual struggle between male and female and between man and nature, not as one based on speech and community. Forbes-Irving sums up his viewpoint succinctly on 89-90, stating: "The dominant aspect of the transformation and death of Actaeon . . . is the reversal of a clearly defined order in which masculine superiority is opposed to women, animals, and the wilds. Actaeon is an extreme example of masculine achievement, bringing in record numbers of dead animals, devastating the countryside, and uncovering forbidden female preserves. Artemis is simultaneously a creature of the wilds, a woman, and a goddess; the combination of these three characters in one mythical figure is the source both of the prurient

Actæon's loss of speech, identity and community.[152] Ovid's emphasis on these themes can be seen throughout the narrative as Actæon's progression from a member of human society with the ability to speak to his transformation into a non-human being, to his realization of his predicament through the persistence of his mind, and to his crisis of identity and his ultimate removal from community.

At the beginning of the narrative, Ovid introduces Actæon to his audience as a member of the human community with a heightened ability of speech in order to draw a greater contrast with his ultimate fate. As he often does in tales of speech loss, Ovid has the character who will be transformed speak in *oratio recta*:

'lina madent, comites, ferrumque cruore ferarum, fortunaeque dies habuit satis; altera lucem cum croceis invecta rotis Aurora reducet, propositum repetemus opus: nunc Phoebus utraque distat idem meta finditque vaporibus arva. sistite opus praesens nodosaque tollite lina!' (*Meta.* 3.148-53)	"The nets, comrades, and the sword are wet with the gore of beasts, and the day has had enough of good fortune; when another dawn leads back the light, carried in on rosy wheels, we shall seek our proposed work: now Phoebus likewise stands far from each turning-post and cleaves the fields with his rays. Cease the present work and put up the knotted nets!"

Not only does the fact that Actæon speaks point to speech loss as a key concept in the story, but the content of his speech also matters. Actæon locates himself in a community

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excitement of the story and of the triple resentment that brings Actaeon down." If we follow Forbes-Irving, the Ovidian departure from this emphasis strengthens the argument for a new, Ovidian focus on speech loss and community.

[152] Anderson *ad* 3.196-7: "[Ovid] continues with his special thematic situation: human consciousness struggling to cope with animal form and to communicate with its former human associates." Likewise, Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.138-252 recounts the differences between the Ovidian version and the larger mythological tradition of Actæon: "Ovidio elimina, come vedremo subito, qualsiasi traccia di una copla soggettiva di Atteone, non insiste sul tema Greco-arcaico della follia, e recupera la dimensione sessuale solo in una dimensione traslata e simbolica; dà invece grande importanza alla metamorfosi e alla contraddizione fra identità umana e corpo animale." [Ovid eliminates, as we shall see, any trace of a subjective guilt of Actaeon, does not insist on the Greek archaic folly, and recovers the sexual dimension in only one shifted and symbolic dimension; instead he gives great importance to the metamorphosis and the contradiction between human identity and the animal body].

of hunters, calling to his comrades (*comites*) as the recipients of his statements. Moreover, his words are extremely polished and ornate, leading Ovid's readers to believe that Actæon is actually a skilled speaker. His speech is bookended by the same word, *lina*, emphasizing not only Actæon's skill with language, but also his sense of order.[153] Likewise, he favors the epic floridity of description, choosing to describe the next day of hunting with an elaborate description of dawn and Apollo. In addition, Actæon is said to have spoken with a *placidum os*, an aspect that draws attention 1) to his serenity, which has drawn parallels to the ideal Vergilian prince who favors serenity over traditional notions of violence and arrogance,[154] and 2) to his ability to speak with his *os* at the beginning of the narrative (cf. Bettini above).

Having introduced Actæon as a character who is part of an active community and with a gift for the spoken word, Ovid focuses on his loss of both in his transformation. The metamorphoses itself (3.194-198) is enclosed by explicit mentions of speech loss in such a manner that the concept is emphasized by its placement in the first and last positions of the narrative section. Before transforming him, Diana first mocks him, stating that he is free to tell (*narrare*) the world he saw her naked, if he is able to speak that fact. This raises the anticipation that Actæon's speech will truly be lost in his transformation. Morevoer, the use of the verb *narrare* to describe the act of telling brings with it the assumption of an audience to tell, a community of listeners. This community also is threatened by Actæon's impending speech loss, as he will not able to interact with

[153] Anderson *ad* 3.153-4.

[154] Anderson *ad* 3.146-7: "Actæon's serenity is designedly emphasizes, in contrast to the common tradition about his violence and arrogance. He is almost an ideal Vergilian prince." This seems to have been done in order to preserve Actæon's innocence and to problematize the severity of his *error*. If Actæon seems to be an upstanding man, is it just that he suffered such a gruesome death? Cf. *Met*. 3.253-55.

it without his ability to speak. However, no mention of a transformed voice is made as in other tales. Instead, suspense is held until the transformation is complete and Actæon sees his reflection in the water:

'nunc tibi me posito visam velamine narres,
si poteris narrare, licet!' nec plura minata
dat sparso capiti vivacis cornua cervi,
dat spatium collo summasque cacuminat aures
cum pedibusque manus, cum longis bracchia mutat
cruribus et velat maculoso vellere corpus;
additus et pavor est: fugit Autonoeius heros
et se tam celerem cursu miratur in ipso.
ut vero vultus et cornua vidit in unda,
'me miserum!' dicturus erat: vox nulla secuta est!
ingemuit: vox illa fuit, lacrimaeque per ora
non sua fluxerunt; **mens tantum pristina mansit.**
quid faciat? repetatne domum et regalia tecta
an lateat silvis? **pudor hoc, timor inpedit illud**.
(*Met.* 3.192-205)

"Now you may tell that I was seen unclothed, if you are able to tell!" And not threating more, she gives his head the horns of a mature stag, and gives length to his neck, points the tips of his ears, and changes his hands to feet, his arms to long legs, covering his body with a spotted skin; fear was also added: the son of Autonoë, a hero, flees and marvels that he is so fast in flight. But when, indeed, he sees his appearance and horns in the water, he was about to say "Woe is me!", but no voice followed! He groaned: that was his voice, and tears flowed down a face not his own; yet, his mind remains as it had been. What could he do? Should he seek home and the regal abode again or should he hide in the woods? Shame keeps him from the latter, fear from the former.

His attempt to speak is met with severe resistance, as he is unable to even utter a sound. Like Callisto, who had her articulate *vox* transformed into something incapable of producing articulate sounds, Actæon is unable to find his voice either (*vox nulla secuta est*). All he can do is groan (*ingemuit*).[155] This sound takes the place of his human, articulate voice. In fact, throughout the remainder of the passage, all Actæon's attempts to communicate are described in terms of either complete failure or rudimentary and confusing noise:

. . . clamare libebat:

He kept wanting to shout: "I am Actæon: recognize your master!" The words failed his

[155] Cf. Callisto's roar at *Met.* 2.482-4: *neve preces animos et verba precantia flectant, / posse loqui eripitur: vox iracunda minaxque / plenaque terroris rauco de gutture fertur.*

'Actaeon ego sum: dominum cognoscite vestrum!'
verba animo desunt; resonat latratibus aether.
(*Met.* 3.229-31)

mind; the air resounds with the barking of dogs.

. . . gemit ille sonumque,
etsi non hominis, quem non tamen edere possit cervus . . .
(*Met.* 3.237-9)

He groans and the sound, even if not human, is still not one a stag is able to produce . . .

In the first instance, Actæon wants to speak and can even form the words in his head (*animo*), but lacks the ability to articulate them, either due to panic or his newfound animal form.[156] Therefore, instead of speaking, he fails to make a sound at all and all that is audible is the barking of Actæon's dogs (*resonat latratibus aether*). In the second instance, Ovid describes the strangeness of the sound, as it is neither human nor animal.[157] Beyond the distinction of articulate *verba* and *voces*, Actæon's sound is so foreign that it can only be described as a *sonum*, a noise belonging neither to humanity nor to the animal realm;[158] the foreignness of the *sonum* not only shows the futility of

[156] Anderson *ad* 3.228-231: "The noun [*animo*], synonymous with *mens*, reminds us of Ovid's special theme of dualism and frustration: the human consciousness persists, suffering and impotent, inside the animal form that conceals it."

[157] There has been a scholarly debate over the authenticity of these lines (e.g., 3.230-1). Cf. Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.230: "Il verso è considerate da Tarrant, dopo Heinsius, un'interpolazione, che riempie arbitrariamente lo spazio aperto da *clamare libebat* e da *verba*, ma alla luce dell'importanza del nome di Atteone nella storia, e del nesso con I vv. 243-4 *Actaeona quaerunt . . . Actaeona clamant* penso sia da ritenere genuino." [The verse is considered by Tarrant, after Heinsius, interpolation, which fills the space arbitrarily opened by *clamare libebat* and by *verba*, but in the light of the importance of the name of Actæon in the narrative, and the link with the vv. 243-4 *Actaeona quaerunt. . . Actaeona clamant*, I think it is to be considered genuine.] For more on the issue, Cf. Hardie 2002, 252-3.

[158] For more on the use of *sonus* as a marker for inarticulate speech – especially compared to *vox* – Cf. the Echo narrative below.

Actæon's attempt at communication, but also his isolation, as it is neither animal nor human.[159]

It reflects the crisis of identity that can be directly attributed to Actæon's speech loss. As with other transformed characters, although he lost his speech when he was transformed, Actæon's mind remained intact, trapped inside an animal's body with no means of communication.[160] As a result, he cannot return to his human community, nor can he live as a deer. This inner conflict is exemplified in Actæon's internal monologue at 3.204-5 (see passage above)[161]: *pudor*, a uniquely human conception, constructed and maintained by community, keeps him from living with the animals;[162] *timor*, the traditional animal fear, with which Diana had imbued him at his transformation (*additus*

[159] Anderson *ad* 3.237-9: "In agony, Actæon tries to groan humanly, but the sound emerges neither quite human nor entirely deer-like."

[160] Anderson *ad* 3.202-3: "[Ovid] takes pains to comment in both cases on the original *mens* or human consciouness that survives the metamorphosis inside the animal form." In addition, Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.203 see Homeric parallels: "la conservazione di una mente umana nella metamorfosi animale è esplicitamente attestata da Omero nel suo esempio più famoso: la transformazione in porci dei compagni di Ulisse in *Od.* X 240 αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τλο πάρος περ, ma Orazio ad esempio modifica questo modello in *Epod*. 17, 17-8, parlando di un'intelligenza umana che fu *restituita* da Circe insieme al corpo originario." [The preservation of a human mind in animal metamorphosis is explicitly attested by Homer in his most famous example: the transformation of Ulysses' companions into swine in *Od*. 10.240 αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τλο πάρος περ, but Horace for example, modifies this model in *Ep*. 17, 17-8, talking about human intelligence that was returned by Circe with the original body]. Cf. also Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.198-203, which gives an interesting interpretation of the reason for the persistence of Actæon's *mens*: "Data l'importanza cruciale del tema del sé e che proprio qui e solo qui Atteone sia indicato come 'figlio di Autonoe' (3.198): il nome della madre si scompone facilmente in Greco in αὐτός e νοῦς; intanto l'accostamento di *fugit* a *heros* sottolinea l'opposizione paradossale tra natura acquisita e cultura preesistente." [Given the crucial importance of the theme of self and that here and only here Actæon is referred to as 'the son of Autonoe' (3198): the name of the mother breaks down easily in Greek into αὐτός νοῦς; Meanwhile, the juxtaposition of *fugit* to *heros* highlights the paradoxical opposition between acquired nature and existing culture].

[161] Payne 129 encapsulates Actæon's crisis of identity in this section: "As Actæon pauses to drink, he is torn between returning home to face his family and remaining in the woods to hide. Shame contends with fear, human emotion with animal affect, and the outcome of the conflict is blockage and death: as he stands rooted to the spot in perplexity, he is spotted by the hounds who give chase."

[162] Kaster, 28-65.

et pavor est, 3.198), keeps him from civilization.[163] Likewise, his conflicted nature is present in his attempt at supplication to Diana. As Callisto had done, Actæon also tries to contort his animal form into a stance of supplication and attempts to pray for mercy.[164] Yet, as with Callisto, this is in vain, as his human attempts at communication with the gods are foiled by his new animal nature.

However, perhaps the most tragic result of Actæon's loss of speech is his death at the hands of his former community:

at **comites** rapidum solitis hortatibus agmen ignari instigant oculisque Actaeona quaerunt et velut absentem certatim Actaeona clamant (ad nomen caput ille refert) et abesse queruntur nec capere oblatae segnem spectacula praedae. (*Met.* 3.242-6)	But his comrades, unaware, spur on the rapid group with their customary encouragements and look for Actæon with their eyes and call Actæon in turn as if he were absent (he lifts his head at the name) and complain that he is absent and that he, lazy, is missing the spectacle of the offered prey.

The same community with which the story started is present at the end. However, this time the transformed Actæon is no longer able to speak to his comrades (*comites*) at all. Although they still look for him and consider him part of their community, they cannot

[163] The addition of fear is consistent with the schematic model of speech loss explored in Chapter 1. Payne 128 suggests that the addition of fear simply came part and parcel with the transformation into an animal: "Most alarmingly of all, perhaps, the passive verb [*additus est*] suggests that Diana does not simply implant fear in Actæon but that her initial gift of an animal body by itself produces a new set of effects inside it." Cf. Bömer 502: "Es ist merkwürdig, wie Ovid jeweils einen der letzten Vorgänge der Verwandlung durch addere anfügt, wenn auch mit ganz verschiedenen Vorstellungen." ["It is remarkable how Ovid appends each one of the last processes of transformation through *addere*, albeit with very different ideas"].

[164] Cf. *Met.* 2.486-8 for Callisto's attempted supplication. In addition, Cf. Pentheus' at *Met.* 3.721ff. Anderson *ad* 3.240-1: "The desperately wounded Actæon-deer wants to assume the pose and gestures of the suppliant. Ovid says he does succeed in kneeling – apparently on its forelegs (once arms) – but he lacks arms and hands to carry out the formulaic gesture. From the biased perspective of the narrator, the deer seems to be pleading with silent gaze as it looks around at dogs and hunters, but nobody else interprets the situation that way, alas for Actæon."

recognize him in his animal form and Actæon cannot reclaim his identity without his voice.[165]

And so, as with the stories of Lycaon and Callisto, Ovid changes the traditional myth of Actæon to emphasize the role of speech loss in a character's identity crisis and loss of community. Because he could not speak, Actæon became trapped in an animal form and was thrown into a middle state between man and beast, but fully neither. As such, he was unable to create a solid identity. Moreover, because of his lack of speech, he was unable to identify himself to his former hunting community and was cut off from them, eventually being murdered at their own hands.

Dryope

In Book Nine, Ovid offers another story of transformation focused on speech loss and the effects it has on identity and community. However, the manner in which these concepts are presented differs greatly from other stories of transformation we have seen. In this tale of metamorphosis, Ovid focuses on the fate of Dryope (*Met*. 9.324-93), who, according to the only two extant versions of the myth, was either transformed into a nymph associated with a spring or, as the Ovidian version describes, into a lotus-tree.[166] Based on the extant versions – which indeed may not have been all the versions available to Ovid – it seems as if the metamorphosis of Dryope into a lotus-tree originated with

[165] Anderson *ad* 3.242-4: "Failing to establish authority over his gods, Actæon also fails to communicate with his hunting companions, who join in the kill."
[166] The other extant version is that of Nicander 1, epitomized by Ant. Lib. 32. In that story, after the birth of her son Amphissos, Dryope was transformed into a nymph and granted immortality. A poplar was left to mark the spot of her transformation. Cf. Anderson *ad* 9.324-93 and Kenney *ad* 9.324-93.

Ovid.[167] In addition, the focused emphasis on speech loss and community also is likely to have been an Ovidian invention, judging from the other stories of metamorphosis in which Ovid focuses on that issue.[168]

Indeed, the Ovidian story of Dryope does have a focus on speech loss and community similar to the stories of Callisto, Lycaon, and Actæon.[169]

spectatrix aderam fati crudelis, opemque
non poteram tibi ferre, soror, quantumque valebam,
crescentem truncum ramosque amplexa morabar,
et, fateor, volui sub eodem cortice condi.
Ecce vir Andraemon genitorque miserrimus adsunt,
et quaerunt Dryopen: Dryopen quaerentibus illis
ostendi loton. tepido dant oscula ligno,
adfusique suae radicibus arboris haerent.
nil nisi iam faciem, quod non foret arbor, habebat
cara soror: lacrimae misero de corpore factis
inrorant foliis, ac, dum licet, **oraque praestant vocis iter**, tales effundit in aera questus:
(*Met.* 9.359-370)

I was present, a witness to cruel fate, and I was not able to help you, sister. However much I was able, I delayed by hugging you the trunk growing round you and the branches, and, I confess it, I wished to be covered under the same bark. Behold, your husband Andraemon and your most miserable father are present, and they seek Dryope: I show the lotus to those seekers of Dryope. They gave kisses to the warm wood, and prostrate, clung to the roots of her tree. My dear sister had nothing that was not tree except for her face: tears rain from her miserable body onto her transformed foliage and, while it is possible, her face left a path for her voice, and she pours such complaints into the air.

In these lines, Iole recounts the transformation of her sister Dryope and sets the background for Dryope's farewell speech to her family. Here, Ovid follows his typical pattern of allowing the character about to be transformed to speak in *oratio recta* so that

[167] Forbes-Irving 130-131: "It is only in Ovid that we find anything approaching [a tree with a human spirit], in the bleeding tree of Lotus or the one that Erisychthon cuts down, and it is more plausible to consider this an Italian belief, or a literary conceit following on from and going one step further than Virgil's description of the bleeding bush of Polydorus, than a traditional Greek belief."
[168] Anderson *ad* 9.324-93: "It may be that Ovid invented the connection with Lotis; he undoubtedly devised the Vergilian allusions. Dryope's gradual metamorphosis and parting from family and son show the particular interest of the poet."
[169] Forbes-Irving 264 compares the Ovidian focus on community to the focus of Nicander's version in the following terms: "Nicander is interested in cult *aitia*, while Ovid tells the sentimental story of the separation of mother and child".

the character's loss of the ability to speak will create all the more contrast between the present and past version of the character.[170] Likewise, the transformation itself serves to highlight speech loss, as the progression of metamorphosis works its way up from Dryope's feet throughout her body and head (*crescentem truncum ramosque*), while leaving her face and mouth intact (*oraque praestant vocis iter*).[171] By leaving her face temporarily intact, the story remains focused on her ability to speak throughout her speech.

The final act of metamorphosis, however, further emphasizes Ovid's focus on speech loss. While Dryope speaks to her family, her mouth is overcome by the bark of her new, non-human form; her voice is cut off: *Desiderant simul ora loqui, simul esse* (*Met.* 9.392-3). Anderson, commenting on these lines, suggests that Ovid includes this concluding statement to satisfy his need for witticism.[172] When read against the other stories of speech loss and transformation, however, this sentence reads more like a gnomic statement capping the end of Pindaric stanza: this is the point, the climax of Dryope's transformation. The force of the *esse* does not refer solely to Dryope's mouth, but to her entire self: when her mouth stopped speaking articulately (*ora loqui*), *she herself*, her *human* identity, ceased to be. Henceforth, her human identity was lost to her family forever, being no longer able to communicate with them. Her original, human identity was thus replaced by a new, non-human one, as the subsequent emphasis on

[170] Cf. Actæon, *Met.* 3.148-53; Lycaon, *Met* 1.221-3.
[171] Anderson *ad* 9.367-70: "Ovid orders the metamorphosis so that at the end Dryope still has eyes for copious and pathetic weeping and a mouth for an extensive farewell speech."
[172] Anderson *ad* 9.392-3: "Ovid cannot refrain from a witty comment on her mouth: it stops talking and ceases to be a mouth simultaneously."

recentes and *mutates* implies.[173] The loss of speech, therefore, was not merely a witticism, but the actual moment of identity crisis and dislocation.

Still, even though this story shares much in common with other tales of transformation in terms of an emphasis on speech loss and identity crisis, it also adds a new wrinkle. Whereas other characters examined thus far in this chapter have suffered transformation and speech loss alone, Dryope undergoes her metamorphosis in the presence of her community, her family. This major difference in detail has profound consequences for Dryope's continued participation in her community. As her community watches as she is changing, Dryope's identity within that community is not severed: they know she is a lotus-tree.[174] With that knowledge, as Dryope hopes, they can keep the memory of her human identity alive after her transformation into a non-human form.[175] She asks that her son know his mother's transformed state and that he play under her branches:

hunc tamen infantem maternis demite ramis,
et date nutrici, nostraque sub arbore saepe
lac facitote bibat, nostraque sub arbore ludat.
cumque loqui poterit, matrem facitote salutet,
et tristis dicat 'latet hoc in stipite mater.'
(*Met.* 9.375-9)

However, send this infant below his mother's branches, and give him to the nurse that she may make him drink milk often under my tree, play often under my tree. And whenever he is able to speak, see to it that he greet his mother and, sad, say "my mother lies hidden in this bark."

[173] Kenney *ad* 7.652-3 suggests that when Ovid uses the term *recens* in the context of a metamorphosis, he is calling attention to the distinction between the past and present form of the character transformed. Cf. *Met*. 9.393 *rami recentes*; *Met.* 11.737: *recentibus alis*; *Met.* 15.846: *recentem animam.*

[174] Cf. Hardie 2002, 252: "The vivid presence (*adsunt*) of her husband (whose full presence as a human being of flesh and blood is punningly guaranteed by his name Andraemon 'man-blood') and of her father is in contrast with the absent presence of Dryope who has just undergone metamorphosis into a tree."

[175] This situation is nearly identical to the one Ovid draws for himself in exile. See Chapters 3 and 4 for more.

Likewise, she asks her husband to continue to protect her, only now from the sharp knife and cattle:

care vale coniunx, et tu, germana, paterque! qui, siqua est pietas, ab acutae vulnere falcis, a pecoris morsu frondes defendite nostras. (*Met.* 9.382-4)	Farewell, dear spouse and you, sister, and father! You who, if there is any loyalty, defend my foliage from the wound of the sharp scythe, from the bite of the cow.

To Dryope, her transformation is not death; it is merely a metamorphosis into a new form. It is for this reason that she rejects her family's attempts to perform funerary rites and to place coins on her eyes.[176] Her request is not simply to prevent an unnecessary step of ritual, as Anderson suggests, but it is to explain explicitly to her family that she is not dead, just different.[177] All she wishes is that her human form be remembered and her non-human form continue to be included in the community. Moreover, her wish for remembrance is granted, as attested by her sister Iole's narrative of Dyrope's very transformation for Ovid's audience.

And so, as with the other stories of transformation, Ovid reinvents the myth of Dryope to include a focus on speech loss, identity confusion, and removal from community. Dryope only ceases to be human when she loses the ability to speak. Yet,

[176] Kenney *ad* 9.390-1: "Un ironico comment finale; sono dispensati dal compiere l'ufficio per i morti: non avranno bisogno di chiuderle gli occhi perché lo farà la corteccia, avvolgendola." [An ironic final comment; They are exempt from performing the office for the dead: they will not need close her eyes because the bark will make a wrapping.] Like Anderson's comment (see n. 10), Kenney seems to miss the Dryope's point as well. First, she is not dying in her mind; therefore, she will not need the funeral rites. Second, bark is not a suitable substitute for coins, as bark does not grant one passage into the underworld.

[177] Anderson *ad* 9.390-1: "She is 'dying' inasmuch as she loses her human existence, so the family starts to practice the usual rites for the dead: closing her eyes. But that is not necessary here: bark will cover her eyes anyway." Anderson's comment is contradictory. If her metamorphosis is the end of her human existence and the beginning of a new, non-human one – as I argue – than she has no use for the coins. If she is dead, bark would not be an acceptable substitute for the coins, as she would not be able to use it to pay Chairon for her passage into the underworld. In essence, the coins are not necessary because Dryope is not dying, not because they bark is an acceptable substitute.

she does not suffer the same removal from community as Lycaon, Callisto, or Actæon because her community was present at the time of her metamorphosis. Instead, all she wants is for her community to not consider her deceased, but transformed, and to continue to involve her in communal life.

Echo

As with the other stories discussed above, in the tale of Echo Ovid again points to the cognitive relationship between speech, identity and community.[178] Echo, having deceived Juno, undergoes a transformation and is stripped of her power of speech, an act that isolates her and prohibits her from expressing her identity through language. As a result, she is unable to express fully her love for another individual, Narcissus, a limitation that leaves her isolated and shut off from human contact.[179] Her removal from the human community is ultimately expressed in her loss of bodily form. Unable to express her inner identity through speech, Echo loses her external being, literally evaporating into the ether and fading from the narrative focus. Throughout the narrative, Ovid uses the connected concepts of speech loss and identity to focus on Echo's liminal state between a social being and an isolated, metamorphosed one.

[178] There were two mythological traditions regarding Echo in antiquity. The first is found in Longus 2.3.3 and involved Pan, who loved Echo, but was spurned by her. In response, he sent filled shepherds with madness and they tore her to pieces. The Earth hid the fragments, which still can sing and imitate other sounds. The second began with the Ovidian connection between Echo and Narcissus. Other versions of the story taking their basis from Ovid include Stat. *Theb.* 7.340ff.; Eust. *Il.* 2.498; Paus. 9.31.7.

[179] Ovid is the only known poet who pairs Narcissus and Echo together. Cf. Bömer 537: "Die Verbindung zwischen Echo und Narcissus findet sich erstmalig bei Ovid." Bömer 543 continues by stating that the reason for Echo's change is unknown (kennt das Motive nicht) in the older versions of the Echo story.

The metamorphosis of Echo itself presents us with a starting point for discussion, as Juno's threats toward and ultimate punishment of Echo provide a prime example of the instability of Echo's linguistic ability. The narrative had introduced Echo as a *vocalis nymphe,* a description not only looking forward to the close connection Echo will have with speech after her transformation, but also seeking to identify pre-transformation Echo as one with the ability to produce articulate speech. Shilpa Raval, whose penetrating analysis of the Echo narrative is greatly instructive for our discussion of speech loss, points out that the use of *vocalis* to describe Echo reminds the audience of Echo's original talents as a speaker; since the term can be translated as 'babbling' or 'chatty', it often was used to designate "artistic abilities, particularly in Ovid and other Augustan and Imperial poets" (206).[180] Raval goes on to show examples of individuals who enchant with words, such as Orpheus in *Odes* 1.12 or Arion in *Fasti* 2.84-92, being described with the term *vocalis,*[181] and concludes that Ovid's use of *vocalis nymphe* to describe Echo highlights Echo's original ability "to manipulate her voice in order to capture (and retain) Juno's attention" (207). In terms of our discussion, this is akin to Ovid's use of *oratio recta* in the tales of Lycaon, Actæon, and Dryope to indicate the original ability of the character to speak; yet, in Echo's case, this ability is highlighted further as a special ability to use language.

[180] For a complete listing of examples, see Raval 2003, 206n8. A few examples include: Ov. *M.* 5.332, 11.317; *F*. 2.91; Prop. 2.34, 37; Tib. 2.5.3; Sen. *Med.* 625; Stat. *Silv*. 2.7, 6.
[181] Raval 2003, 206-207.

Having been prevented from exacting revenge on her adulterous husband and his lovers by Echo's verbal ability, Juno vows to rob Echo of this gift of speech that makes her *vocalis*:

fecerat hoc Iuno quia cum deprendere posset sub Iove saepe suo nymphas in monte iacentes, illa deam longo prudens sermone tenebat dum fugerent nymphae. postquam hoc Saturnia sensit, 'huius' ait 'linguae, qua sum delusa, potestas parva tibi dabitur vocisque brevissimus usus.' (M. 3.362-67)	Juno had done this because, although she was able to recognize that nymphs were often lying with Jove on his mountain, Echo cleverly kept delaying the goddess with a long conversation until the nymphs could flee. After the daughter of Saturn realized this, she said, "the small power of this tongue, by which I have been deceived, and the most fleeting use of voice will be given to you."

Juno's threats state the loss of Echo's existence as *vocalis* and the basic instability of Echo's new linguistic state: she has a small amount of control over her *lingua* and a fleeting ability to speak through a *vox*. The *lingua*, as was discussed in the previous chapter, is the body part that gives humans the ability to produce articulate speech, since it is with the tongue that humans are able to differentiate their utterances. *Vox* too carries a similar connotation and is linked with the communicative act of the individual who speaks. For humans, this entails the articulate communication unique to human speech. Therefore, Echo's loss of control over her *lingua* and *vox* is tantamount to her loss of the ability to speak in a human fashion, and, consequently, her ability to communicate her identity to others in the form of expressing herself through speech. Still, her *vox* and *lingua* are not entirely curtailed, and Echo is left with the physical ability to use them, provided that another individual speak first. So, as a result of her transformation and the curtailment of her speech, Echo finds herself in an in-between state: although she retains

the physical tools for human speech, she lacks the control over them that would allow her to express her feelings, her thoughts, and, in essence, her identity.

However, the most prominent method through which Ovid identifies Echo's liminal existance between the human and non-human realms is through the repetition of *vocare* and *sonare*, along with their derivatives.[182] *Vocare* and *sonare*, although both describing a type of sound, are on opposite ends of the spectrum of articulate speech. The sound represented by *vocare* and its derivatives is that of human, articulate speech. *Sonare*, on the other hand, indicates a basic sound, most often a noise produced by inarticulate beings (e.g., moos, howls, or lows) or objects (e.g., the wind, instruments, or thunder). In the narrative, Ovid describes Echo with both of these terms, frequently alternating between the two, even within a single sentence or line. The effect is to show Echo's true wavering identity: although she can produce articulate speech (i.e., *vocare*), she cannot fully control it in order to communicate her identity; thus, the sound she produces is not entirely a human voice in the truest sense, but is limited to a sound (*sonare*) somewhat beyond her control and incapable of communicating her identity.

Ovid indicates the essential nature of this *vocare/sonare* tension in Echo's identity at the beginning of the narrative, introducing her for the first time as an individual stuck between these two extremes of articulate speech:

adspicit hunc trepidos agitantem in retia cervos vocalis nymphe, quae nec reticere loquenti nec prior ipsa loqui didicit, resonabilis Echo. (M. 3.356-58)	She sees him [Narcissus] driving the frightened deer into the nets, the *vocalis* nymph, who neither knows how to remain quiet when one speaks nor knows herself how to speak first, the *resonabilis* Echo.

[182] Cf. the similar reading of Raval 2003, 201-217 regarding the terms and their derivatives.

Here, the two concepts are indicated through adjective-noun pairs (*vocalis nymphe, resonabilis Echo*) arranged chiastically with two clauses controlled by the coordinating conjunctions *nec...nec*. The chiasmus creates a picture of the ambiguity in Echo's identity: on opposite ends are the two poles of articulate speech, *vocalis* and *resonabilis*; between the two is the uncertain ability of Echo, who can speak (*loquor*), but lacks the total control over her voice to allow her to initiate a conversation (*nec prior ipsa loqui*).

Likewise, when Ovid describes the 'conversation' between Narcissus and Echo, he uses the same opposition of *vocare/sonare*:

forte puer comitum seductus ab agmine fido
dixerat: 'ecquis adest?' et 'adest' responderat Echo.
hic stupet, utque aciem partes dimittit in omnis,
voce 'veni!' magna clamat: vocat illa vocantem.
respicit et rursus nullo veniente 'quid' inquit
'me fugis?' et totidem, quot dixit, verba recepit.
perstat et alternae deceptus imagine vocis
'huc coeamus' ait, nullique libentius umquam
responsura sono 'coeamus' rettulit Echo
et verbis favet ipsa suis egressaque silva
ibat, ut iniceret sperato bracchia collo;
ille fugit fugiensque 'manus conplexibus aufer!
ante' ait 'emoriar, quam sit tibi copia nostri';
rettulit illa nihil nisi 'sit tibi copia nostri!'
(M. 3.379-92)

By chance, the boy, led away from the familiar field of his companions, had said: "Is anyone there?" and Echo had responded "she is here". He is astonished, and as he seeks high ground in all parts, calls in a great voice, "Come!"; she calls to him, calling. He looks back and again and, since no one is coming, says, "Why do you flee me?" and as many times as he spoke, he receives words in reply. He stands still and, deceived by the appearance of another voice, says, "Let's meet here", and Echo, never ready to reply to one in her own fashion, brought back "Let's meet" in a sound and herself burned at her words and, having left the woods, she began to go forth so that she might wrap her arms around that desired neck; He flees and, fleeing, says "Take back your hands from your embrace! May I die before my bounty be for you!" She brought back nothing other than "May my bounty be for you!"

Throughout this 'conversation', Ovid makes clear the distinction between the linguistic abilities of Narcissus and those of Echo with his choice of verbs to describe each. Ovid uses verbs of human speech to portray Narcissus as a human fully capable of speech: *dicere, clamare, vocare, inquit, ait*. But, whereas Narcissus' ability to speak is consistent

throughout, Echo's speech is referenced roughly half as much (4 verbs compared to 7) and is anything but consistent. At the beginning of the conversation, Echo is described as able to respond (*respondere*) and to call out (*vocare*) to Narcissus. In fact, she is afforded the same active ability to form speech as Narcissus (*vocat illa vocantem*). Her speech sounds like a human voice and, as such, convinces Narcissus that he is speaking to another.

At the point, however, when the audience may be beginning to believe that it is a real conversation between two fully communicative beings, Ovid brings them back to reality. First, he reminds his audience that Echo's speech is not a true *vox*, but an *imago vocis*, the mere appearance of a voice. Secondly, the verbs describing Echo's speech shift from the realm of articulate language (*respondere, vocare*) to that of the inarticulate. Twice Ovid refers to her speech as *rettulit sono*, a phrase that emphasizes the true nature of Echo's voice. Her speech is incapable of communicating her feelings and expressing her identity, and thus cannot be truly described by *vocare*, but instead is relegated to the realm of sound unable to articulate identity (*sonare*). This disconnect between Echo's ability to produce speech and her inability to express herself through it is summed up in the clause *nullique libentius umquam / responsura sono 'coeamus' rettulit Echo*. Ovid presents Echo as attempting both to fulfill the same verbal action she had mimicked earlier (*responsura ≈ responderat*, 380) and to express her own feelings in her own way (*libentius*), but, she lacks the ability to do so and is, in fact, not free. In such a manner, Ovid portrays Echo as the same individual that he introduced at the outset of the tale:

trapped in an ambiguous state between *vocare* and *sonare*, the opposite poles of articulate speech.

After Echo is spurned by Narcissus, she undergoes a second metamorphosis: from an individual with a speech impairment to nothing but a sound.[183] In this transformation, Ovid brings the tension between Echo's ability to speak and her inability to communicate to its natural conclusion, as he depicts Echo's disintegration from the realm of *vocare* to that of *sonare*:

spreta latet silvis pudibundaque frondibus ora
protegit et solis ex illo vivit in antris;
sed tamen haeret amor crescitque dolore repulsae;
extenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curae
adducitque cutem macies et in aera sucus
corporis omnis abit; vox tantum atque ossa supersunt:
vox manet, ossa ferunt lapidis traxisse figuram.
inde latet silvis nulloque in monte videtur,
omnibus auditur: sonus est, qui vivit in illa.
(M. 3.393-401)

Spurned, she hides in the woods and shamed, she cloaks herself in the foliage; she lives apart from him in lonely caves; yet still the love of the rejected one endures and grows on grief; vigilant cares waste away her miserable frame and her body shrivels; all its moisture dries. Only voice and bones are left. At last, only voice; her bones are turned to stone. So she hides in the woods and is seen on no mountain, but is heard by all: 'tis but a sound that lives on in her.
(*trans: adaptation of Meville*)

As the physical manifestation of Echo disintegrates, her entire being exists only in her *vox*, her ability to speak articulately, albeit in a curtailed manner.[184] However, as Ovid prepares for the end of her place in the narrative, her active participation in the story ceases and her ability to communicate is lost.[185] Echo fades to the background and only is described with passive verbs and her speech is no longer called a *vox*, but a *sonus*,

[183] Barchiesi and Rosati *ad* 3.396-401: "con una serie di metamorfosi che si succedono rapidamente, e secondo una logica particolarmente antirealistica, Eco passa da assere umano a nude ossa, poi a un qualcosa di 'pietroso', infine a un fenomeno acustico che tutti possono sentire." [with a series of rapidly progressing metamorphoses, and according to a particularly antirealist logic, Echo passes from human to bare bones, then to something 'stony', and finally to an acoustic phenomenon that everyone can feel.]
[184] Anderson *ad* 396-9
[185] Anderson *ad* 400-1, Cf. also Bömer 549

highlighting both the end of her narrative importance and her final loss of whatever vocal agency she had. [186] Ovid at last releases the tension of Echo's linguistic identity; her metamorphosis is now complete. Totally bereft of her voice and personal agency, Echo now enters the isolation afflicting other transformed characters in the *Metamorphoses*.

In all of these cases, when the character is transformed, the voice is stripped away and, with it, a sense of communal identity. However, although they lose the ability to speak, the characters retain their humanity and are simply enveloped by a tree or by animal *formae*. Furthermore, all except Daphne were transformed involuntarily, either by their own fault or by the whim of a deity. Yet, to reiterate the main point, all of these instances involve speech loss. Furthermore, speech loss is a key symptom of transformation and loss of community. Therefore, to continue the analysis of this theme, it is time to examine the other major permutation of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses*: speech loss and the written medium.

Speech Loss and the Written Medium

Until this point, it has been shown that speech is a critical aspect of the metamorphosis of a character. When a character loses the ability to speak, he or she does not regain it and, as a result, loses a uniquely human trait. However, these characters do not lose their minds, so to speak. The persistence of the characters' internal, rational sense of identity keeps each character somewhat human. Still, since their form is not that of a human, they exist fully in neither the realm of humanity nor of animality. Thus, they

[186] Cf. Galasso 2006, 105-36 and Barchiesi *ad loc*.

are left with no true community and are forced into isolation, a solitary, 'wavering' existence as neither animal nor man. In a few cases, however, most notably the cases of Io and Philomela, the same internal sense of identity that prevents characters from being fully animal provides them with a way back to humanity: convinced of their human identity, these human characters strive to reconnect with their communities and to communicate their identities through writing. To examine this path to restoration, let us first start with the story of Io (1.568-746).

The myth of Io is one of the most well-attested in antiquity, appearing first in fragments of the *Aiginios* and another Hesiodic work (most likely the *Catalogue*),[187] enjoying an increase in popularity in fifth century Athens,[188] and persisting through the Roman period.[189] The only extended accounts of the story, however, come from the Roman period in Calvus' lost *Io* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.[190] The basic narrative of the myth remained relatively constant throughout antiquity, although some minor

[187] Cf. fragments 124-6 and 294-6. Lycophron 1292ff. For more, see Wilamowitz *Hellenistische Dichtung II*, 155ff. and Bömer 177.

[188] The most notable versions from this period are Aes.*PV*. 562ff. and *Supp.* 291ff. Cf. Bömer 178, "Unsere Kenntis der älteren Überlieferung basiert angesichts des fragmentarischen Zustandes dieser Dichtungen im wesenlichen auf Aischylos, dessen Darstellungen im Prometheus und in den Hiketiden nicht ganz Deckung zu bringen sind." [Our knowledge of the older tradition is based, given the fragmentary state of these seals, essentially on Aeschylus, whose representations [of Io] in *Prometheus Bound* and in *Suppliants* are not enough to give a full coverage.] Fuller versions: Bacchylides 19; Soph., *Inachus*; Chaeremon, *Io* (*TGF* 71 F 9). Lesser versions: Soph. *El*. 5; Eur. *IT* 394 ff., *Phoen*. 247 and 1116, *Supp.* 628ff.; Herodotus 1.1ff., 2.41; Pind. *Pyth*. 4.14, *Nem*. 10.5.

[189] Val. Fl. 4.350ff.; Paus. 1.251, 3.18.13, 2.16.1; Lucian, *Dia*. *D.* 3, *D. Mar.* 7, *Salt*. 43; Ps.-Plut. *Fluv.*18; Nonn. 1.334ff.,3.267ff; Prop. 2.33; schol. Eur. *Phoen*. 1116; *Suda* s.v. Io; Eust. on Dionys. *Per*. 92. In addition to these literary sources, the myth of Io also was a popular topic in classical art. For more on the artistic tradition of Io, see Forbes-Irving 215-16; Cook, *Zeus* i.437-57; Wehrli, *AK* Suppl. 4 (1967), 196-200; Burkett, *HN* 188-9; Otis, 350-60.

[190] Although Calvus' version is lost, some fragments remain. Cf. Courtney, E. (1993). *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, pp. 206. Io is depicted as wandering the earth in [Probus] *GLK* iv. 226: *is syllaba nominativi casus brevis est . . . femino ut Calvus in Io: frigida iam celeri superatur Bistonis ora*. The current scholarly consensus is that Ovid knew Calvus' version well and often alluded to it in his version in the *Metamorphoses*. Cf. Ovid, *M.* 1.632 (*frondibus arboreis et* ***amara pascitur herba***) to Calvus = Courtney, p. 205, Dserv. *Buc.* 6.47 (*a virgo infelix,* ***herbis pasceris amaris***). For more, see. Otis 350-360; Resson 283.

variations can be identified.[191] At its core, the story runs as follows: Io, a daughter of Peiren and a priestess of Hera, was seduced by Zeus, who then transformed Io into a cow and swore to Hera that he had not touched her. Hera, rightfully distrustful of her husband's oath, charged Argos with the task of guarding Io, a task that he performed until he was killed by Hermes. Hera then forced Io to wander the world in her bovine form, continually tormented by a gadfly. Eventually, Io was allowed to return to her human form.

Although other differences between the various versions can be identified, a major one germane to the current discussion is the presentation of Io's ability to speak. Whereas in all of the extant Greek versions either Io has the ability to speak in her human voice (e.g., her extended monologues in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*) or the topic of speech is never mentioned, in Ovid, explicit reference is made to the fact that Io can no longer speak, a fact continuously exploited for the sake of pathos.[192] The introduction of speech loss to the myth, therefore, has been seen as an Ovidian innovation. Such an inclusion, however, need not only be for the sake of pathos, but instead can be read as an extension of the Ovidian conception of metamorphosis as a state of linguistic 'wavering identity' discussed in this chapter. Before we look at Ovid's emphasis on Io's speech loss, a brief look at a previous Ovidian handling of the myth on a smaller scale is useful. The

[191] For a brief handling of the differences, see Forbes-Irving 211-215.

[192] Anderson *ad* 1.568-746: "Our sense of outrage is attenuated by the way the narrator focuses on minor details: we hear nothing of Io's indignation or her puzzled sense of wrong; instead, Ovid talks of her discomforts in having to lie on grass rather than a luxurious couch (633), of her frustration in lacking hands to appeal for pity, and of lacking a human voice to communicate with Argos or with her father (647)."

Ovidian innovation of speech loss in the Io myth did not first appear in the *Metamorphoses*, but in the earlier *Heroides*.[193]

In *Heroides* 14, Ovid presents a letter written from Hypermestra to her husband Lynceus. According to that myth, Danaus, Hypermestra's father, and his brother, Aegyptus, father fifty daughters and fifty sons respectively. These two brothers fight over the kingship of Egypt, and Aegyptus seeks to marry his sons to Danaus' daughters to prevent Danaus from marrying those daughters to another's sons and forming an alliance against him. Danaus eventually agrees to the marriages, but arms his daughters with daggers and tells each of them to murder her respective husband on the wedding day. All of the daughters follow through with the plan except Hypermestra, who is unable to kill her husband, Lynceus. When Danaus discovers Hypermestra's disobedience, he throws her in prison. It is at this narrative point that the epistle of *Heroides* 14 proports to have been written.

In the poem, Hypermestra explains her side of the story to a supposedly dual audience, with both Lynceus and Damaus as prospective addressees.[194] Included in the letter is a lengthy 'digression' on the myth of Io, which ostensibly acts to show

[193] The dating of the *Heroides* is exceedingly uncertain partly because the authentic of each of the *Heroides* has, at some time in the past century, been questioned. Currently, there is a tenuous agreement that the first fifteen *Heroides* (i.e., the single epistles) are genuine. Beyond questions of authenticity, the 'firmest' textual evidence we have is from *Amores* 2.18.21ff., in which Ovid gives a list of *Heroides* (1-2, 4-7, 10-11, 15).

[194] Fulkerson (2003), arguing against earlier accusations of disunity in the poem (e.g., Scaliger and Heinsius), asserts that the apparent disunity is caused by the necessity to write not only to Lynceus, but also to Danaus: "Hypermestra has only one letter to accomplish two discrete and contradictory objectives. The first is to persuade her husband to return and save her life; the second, more devious, is to persuade her father (a potential reader) that she is innocent of all wrongdoing. Composing for an implicit as well as explicit addressee forces Hypermestra to write ambiguously" (124).

commonalities between Io and Hypermestra.[195] In the description of Io, Hypermestra emphasizes the bovine heroine's inability to speak, devoting much effort to describe the frustration such speech loss brought about:

Scilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira,
    cum bos ex homine est, ex bove facta dea—
at satis est poenae teneram mugisse puellam
    nec modo formosam posse placere Iovi.
adstitit in ripa liquidi nova vacca parentis
    cornuaque in patriis non sua vidit aquis
conatoque queri mugitus edidit ore
    territaque est forma, territa voce sua.
(*Her*. 14.85-92)

Just like that one the Junonian anger persists, when she was made a cow from a human, goddess from a cow -- but it is enough of a penalty that the tender girl should moo and, no longer beautiful, be able to please Jove. She stands, the new cow, on the shore of her liquid parent, and horns not her own she sees in her father's waters, and sends forth moos from a mouth trying to complain, terrified at her form, terrified at her voice.

As we already have established, all prior, extant handlings of the Io myth remain mute on her speech loss, either allowing her to speak in a human voice or leaving Io's speech out of the myth entirely. Thus, Ovid's insertion of Io's speech loss in his version seems to be intentional and innovative, adding another layer of meaning to Hypermestra's allusion to the myth. I would argue that this emphasis on Io's speech loss be read in conjunction with the predominant view that Hypermestra included the myth into her letter so as to set Io up as an analogy to herself. For, as Reeson (2001) puts it, Hypermestra offers "no empty retelling of the story" (283). Fulkerson (2003), following the basic argument set out by Jacobson (134-5), provides a good listing of the close parallels between the stories of the two heroines: "Both women are confused and terrified at their new surroundings, Io because she is a heifer, Hypermestra because she is in prison. Each woman is described

[195] Jacobson 134: "And this is why the lengthy 'digression' on Io (85-108) is both suitable and wonderfully effective . . . the motivating factor for Io's appearance here is clear and simple. Io, an ancestor of Hypermestra, had suffered grieviously and undeservedly, and therefore the latter identifies herself with the mistreated victim."

as *exul*, an exile, and each must come to terms with unfamiliar weapons – horns for Io and *tela* for Hypermestra. Finally, both women were said to be priestesses of Hera at Argos" (136, n. 44).[196]

Although scholarship is right to point out the clear similarities between the positions of each heroine, the similarity between their methods of communication with their fathers also deserves attention and explains Ovid's choice to describe Io as speechless.[197] Since their situations are so closely parallel, it is also appropriate to equate the methods in which the heroines communicate with the respective fathers: Io, because she is voiceless, does so through writing, and Hypermestra, since she too is voiceless in the sense that she is unable to speak face to face with her father, also turns to writing as a means of communication.

By equating herself with the speechless Io, Hypermestra suggests that she too is suffering the isolation and relegation of Io's speechlessness. Therefore, like Io she turns to writing as a means of mediating that isolation and communicating with her father. The Ovidian addition of speech loss to the Io myth, therefore, serves a poetic purpose for *Heroides* 14: a means both to express Hypermestra's sense of isolation and to explain the reason for the letter's existence itself as a method of mediating communication without speech. Still, what of the Ovidian handling of the Io myth in the *Metamorphoses*, a version that also includes a heavy emphasis on Io's loss of speech in her bovine form?

[196] Cf. also Reeson 283 for more examples of parallelism between the two versions.
[197] Only Fulkerson (2003) includes Hypermestra's father as a potential reader. Other interpretations of the poem are predicated on the fact that the letter was only intended for Lynceus.

In the account of the Io myth in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid again depicts the bovine Io as bereft of speech, and, as he did in *Heroides* 14, Ovid does so to emphasize her isolation from community. Thus, in many respects, the story of Io in the *Metamorphoses* resembles the other tales we have examined from Ovid's *magnum opus*: after being transformed, Io loses the ability to speak and is consequently removed from her community, both familial and human. In her transformed state, she exists in a liminal state between animal and human, Fränkel's state of 'wavering identity'. Yet, this is where the similarities between Io's tale and the other tales of metamorphosis end. She does not remain isolated from her community, nor does she suffer an unfortunate death in her transformed state. Instead, she is the first character in the *Metamorphoses* to communicate with her community and to affect the change of her state from one of isolation and transformation to one of reintegration and community. The means through which Io is able to achieve her reintegration is significant, as it is the written medium that effectively mediates the communication gap brought on by speech loss. (As we will see in Chapter 3, the ability of the written word to bridge such communication gaps will form a large portion of Ovid's poetics of exile.) After she communicates her identity to her family through her writing, she initiates the course of events that results in her transformation back into her human form and her reintegration into her lost community.

An analysis of the narrative must begin with Ovid's description of Io in terms of liminality, after she is transformed into a cow by Jupiter in an effort to hide her rape from Juno: Io exists in a state of ambiguity between man and beast. Although she is able to rationalize as a human, she lacks the human ability to vocalize it due to the transformed

state of her physical body. This liminality is identified at the moment of her transformation.

coniugis adventum praesenserat inque nitentem
Inachidos **vultus mutaverat** ille **iuvencam**;
(bos quoque **formosa** est). **speciem** Saturnia vaccae,
quamquam invita, probat nec non, et cuius et unde
quove sit armento, veri quasi nescia quaerit.
(*M.* 1.610-614)

[Jupiter] had already sensed the arrival of his spouse and had changed the *vultus* of the daughter of Inachus into a brilliant *iuvenca*; (for a heifer is also shapely). The daughter of Saturn, although unwilling, approves of the beauty of the cow, and, as if ignorant of the truth, inquires who owned the cow, where it came from, and to what flock it belonged.

In these lines, Ovid depicts the actual moment of transformation and describes to us what type of transformation occurred that resulted in Io's loss of ability to communicate her inner emotions and intentions. First, Ovid identifies that the only aspect of Io that was changed was the outward appearance, as the only vocabulary used to describe Io is that of outward appearance: *vultus*, *species*, and *forma*. The traditional explanation of these lines, therefore, is that all these terms be taken as synonyms that point to the outward change of Io.[198] These three terms for 'outward appearance', however, have underlying meanings that need to be unpacked; for Ovid is expressing the exact nature of Io's transformation through these terms. The aspect of Io's identity that was transformed by Jupiter, her *vultus*, was not merely her outward appearance, but her human ability to communicate her identity through her appearance.

In his recent study of identity and communication in the ancient world, Maurizio Bettini devotes an entire chapter to expressions of communicative appearance in Roman

[198] Anderson *ad* 610-11: "Treat *vultus* as synonymous with *formam*"; *ad* 612: "*speciem:* regular synonym for *formam*". Barchiesi *ad* 1.610-11: "*Vultus* può significare 'aspetto', ma allude anche alla versione alternativa della vicenda e dell'iconografia in cui la metamorfosi riguarda solo la testa della fanciulla." [*Vultus* can mean 'appearance', but also alludes to the alternate version of the story and iconography in which the metamorphosis affects only the head of the maiden.]

thought, a chapter that touches on two of the terms employed by Ovid here: *species* and *vultus*.[199] Bettini suggests that *species* referred to an individual's "capacity to be seen" and focused exclusively on the outward appearance of an individual (i.e., what one 'looked like').[200] As such, this seems to confirm the traditional interpretation that when Juno marveled at Io's *species*, she was impressed by the beauty of Io's bovine form. Moreover, Bettini's discussion of *vultus* adds another dimension to what Ovid is describing. For Bettini, the *vultus* was "a vehicle for expressing personality traits and internal emotions" (139), and since both of these aspects were not the purview of animals, animals did not have a *vultus*.[201] Likewise, Anthony Corbeill, in his study on gestures in the Roman world, describes *vultus* as the facial expression that voicelessly expressed an individual's inner will.[202] As Corbeill hints at with the term 'voicelessly', such a focus on expression of an individual's interiority naturally includes notions of communication and speech, the vehicles through which one can verbally describe the inner emotions expressed non-verbally by the *vultus*:[203]

> The *vultus* is the central focus of interpersonal communication. This part of the head becomes a *locus* of hints and signs, to the point of functioning as a true and proper 'language' that people can use to decipher the feelings and intentions at work in another person's soul (Bettini 141).

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[199] Bettini (2011), chapter 4: "Face to Face in Ancient Rome: The Vocabulary of Physical Appearance in Latin".

[200] ibid, 132. Cf. Stramaglia (1998), 29ff.; Negri (1984), 58ff.

[201] Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.9.27: "*Nam et oculi nimis argute quem ad modum animo affecti simus**, **loquuntur et is qui appellatur uultus, qui nullo in animante esse praeter hominem potest**, indicat mores, quoius uim Graeci norunt, nomen omnino non habent.*"

[202] Corbeill 2004, 19-20: "The Romans popularly derived *vultus* ('facial expression') from the verb *volo* ('to want'), since our outward expression voicelessly 'expresses' our inner will." Corbeill goes on to compare this term for one's physical appearance with *facies*, another term that describes the face, but focuses on the human physique due to its etymology from *facere*.

[203] Cf. Ser. *in Aen.* 1.683: "*'faciem' pro vultu posuit. nullus enim faciem alterius potest accipere, sed vultum, qui pro mentis qualitate formatur: unde infra est 'et notos pueri puer indue vultus'.*"

Against this cognitive background, much more is happening in the metamorphosis of Io than a superficial transformation. When Io's *vultus* is transformed, her ability to express her inner feelings to her human community is lost. Furthermore, the ability of other humans to 'read' her *vultus* for keys to her identity is obstructed. Although her human ability to have internal emotions and intentions remains intact, her ability to express them through her *vultus* is inhibited by her new bovine outward appearance. Io, thus, is placed in an ambiguous state between man and beast.

Ovid continues his emphasis on that state with the term *iuvenca,* the actual descriptor of what she had become. Typically translated as 'heifer', *iuvenca* is actually an ambiguous word that carries the semantic meaning of 'young' and can refer either to young cattle or to young humans. In fact, Ovid, in *Heroides* 5, uses the term to refer to Helen of Troy (*Graia . . . iuvenca,* 5.117-118, 124) and was clearly aware of the term's ambiguous connotations.[204] Moreover, if we stress the ambiguity of the term, Ovid's subsequent parenthetical reference to a *bos* makes more sense, as it serves to clarify the ambiguous nature of Io stated at the end of the preceding line (one may even imagine the break between the lines being lengthened in a recitation of the poem to emphasize the ambiguity).

Secondly, since Io's transformation left her in such an ambiguous state between man and beast, Ovid emphasizes her loss of the human ability to speak, a loss that results

[204] See the discussion of Ver. *Aen* .12.715-19 in Chapter 1. Cf. also Val. Fl. 4.350; Hor. C. 2.8.21.

in her removal from both her human and familial communities.[205] Under the watchful eye of Argus, Io wanders the countryside and attempts to complain about her situation:

luce sinit pasci; cum sol tellure sub alta est,
claudit et indigno circumdat vincula collo.
frondibus arboreis et amara pascitur herba.
proque toro terrae non semper gramen habenti
incubat infelix limosaque flumina potat.
illa etiam supplex Argo cum bracchia vellet
tendere, non habuit, quae bracchia tenderet Argo,
conatoque queri mugitus edidit ore
pertimuitque sonos propriaque exterrita voce est.
(*M.* 1.630-638)

In the day, [Argus] allowed her to graze; when the sun dropped below the earth, he locked her up and bound her undeserving neck with a chain. She eats tree leaves and bitter grasses. Instead of a bed, she, unlucky, sleeps on the ground, which not always has grass, and she drinks from muddy streams. When she wished even to extend her arms to Argus in supplication, though she had none which she might extend to Argus, a moo poured forth from the mouth trying to complain, and she was afraid of the sounds and frightened by her own voice.

When Io attempts to complain, all she is able to do is produce a moo (*mugatus edidit*), as her physical form has been transformed into that of a cow.[206] For as much as Io's *mugatus* can tell us about her loss of speech, however, the subsequent line tells us much more, particularly regarding the type of sound that was produced. In that line, Ovid describes Io's moos as both a *sonus* and a *vox*, commenting on her speech loss in much the same manner that he had done with Echo.[207] *Sonus*, as we have seen, was traditionally associated with noise or the inarticulate speech of animals, whereas *vox* indicated some form of the articulate speech of humans. Here, Ovid describes the sequence of Io's realization of and fright at her loss of speech with a participial

[205] Curran (1978) emphasizes the connection between Io's terror at her loss of voice and the clinically observed effect of the experience of rape.

[206] Feldherr (2010) 17-18 reads Io's inability to complain (*queri*) as an Ovidian reference to the tension between the elegiac and epic genres: "We can see the self-referential literary game as determining even Io's terror of her own voice. Her discovery that she can only moo offers a parallel for the poet's own witty advertisement of the fact that his elegiac language has been strangely distorted into an epic roar. Io wants to lament, *queri*, the very task of the elegist, in fact the programmatic one, because elegy as a genre was believed to derive from lamentation. So too, the moo that comes out instead recalls the hollow rumblings conventionally used to disparage windy epic utterance."

[207] Cf. the section on Echo earlier in this Chapter, pp. .

construction (*exterrita est*) and a finite, perfect verb (*pertimuit*). The participial *exterrita* retains its tendency towards relative tense, indicating the first action: when Io attempted to speak, she was shocked and thoroughly terrified at what she had expected to be her own voice (*propria voce*).[208] Sometime between the participial action and that of the main verb, Io comes to the realization that her voice had been changed along with her physical form.[209] Instead of being able to voice her complaints as earlier versions of the character had been able to, Ovid's Io is voiceless. There will be no monologues of complaints as in Aeschylus.[210] After this realization, Io is gripped by an intense fear (*pertimuit*) that she only is able to produce the *sonos* of a cow.

Because of her loss of speech, Io is isolated from both her human and familial communities and is relegated to the animal realm. Ovid describes her transformed state in terms of comparisons with humanity. Io, whom Jupiter had extolled as worthy of his love and of bringing a young prince to her wedding-bed (*o virgo Iove* ***digna*** *tuoque beatum / nescioquem factura* ***toro***, 590-1), now is forced to submit her unworthy neck to animal chains (***indigno*** *circumdat vincula collo*), to exchange her human resting place for the ground (***proque toro*** *terrae non semper gramen habenti / incubat*), and to eat tree

[208] Cf. Ovid's 'earlier' version of Io at *Her.* 14.92: "*territaque est forma, territa voce sua*." Tarrant removed *Met*. 1.638 as an interpolation of this line, but there are enough major differences in the sequence of Io's realization to counter Tarrant's claim. Cf. Barchiesi *ad* 1.638: "Tarrant espunge il verso come interpolzaione da *Her.* 14,92, ma l'intertestualità con l'*Eroide* 14 è comunque presente nel contest, e il contrasto fra l'esametro e il pentametro complete la somiglianza tra v. 637 e *Her.* 14,91, creando una differenza quasi programmatica tra lo stile continuo dell'epos e quello a *cola* bilanciati e ripetuti del distico elegiaco." [Tarrant deletes the verse as an interpolation of Her. 14.92, but the intertextuality with *Heroides* 14 is still present in the contest, and the contrast between the hexameter and pentameter completes the similarity between 1.637 and *Her.* 14.91, creating an almost programmatic difference between continuous epic style and that of balanced cola and the repeated elegiac couplet.]
[209] Payne 126-28.
[210] Aes. *PV* 589-886.

leaves and bitter grass (*frondibus arboreis et amara pascitur herba*).[211] This last line, although typically described as an allusion to Calvus' lost *Io*, also alludes to a line in Vergil's *Georgics* in which the life of a lonely, exiled bull is described:[212]

nec mos bellantis una stabulare, sed alter
uictus abit longeque ignotis exsulat oris,
multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
uictoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores,
et stabula aspectans regnis excessit auitis.
ergo omni cura uiris exercet et inter
dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili
frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,
et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
(Ver. *G.* 224-234)

It is not the custom for the [cattle fighting over a heifer] to stable together, but the beaten one leaves and lives in exile on unknown shores, bemoaning often his disgrace and the blows of the proud victor, then the loves which he, unavenged, lost, and looking at the stables, he leaves his ancestral realms. Therefore, he trains his strength with care and lies all night on a naked bed among hard stones, having eaten rough leaves and sharp reeds, and he tests himself and learns to attack with his horns, having pressed them against the trunk of a tree, and beats the winds with blows, and practices for the fight on the spread-out sand.

The Vergilian bull is exiled from his herd, lives alone, and sleeps on a grassless patch of earth just as Io.[213] Ovid's allusion to this bull points to Io as Io bereft of a place in both the human community and the animal realm. Her lack of acceptance in either realm thus recalls the similar situations of the transformed Actæon and Callisto, who both struggle to find a place where they belong.

[211] In addition to being forced to eat food fit for cattle, Io also is forced to drink from muddy water (*limosa flumina*). The fact that a water nymph like Io is forced to drink from such waters further highlights her removal from her accustomed community. Anderson *ad* 1.633-4: "the drinking places of cattle strike us as muddy, which does not bother cows, of course, but appalls the girl inside the cow-shape." Bömer 197 states the obvious fact that murky water is not liked by either men or cattle: "Es ist bei Menschen und Vieh in gleicher Weise unbeliebt." ["It is similarly disliked by men and cattle."]

[212] Thomas (2001) *ad G.* 3.219 suggests that Vergil too might be drawing on Calvus' *Io*, as that line states "*pascitur in magna Sila formorsa iuvenca*" and refers to Sila, a mountain in Bruttium, a location that Calvus was said to have located Io.

[213] Vergil's bull, however, is described as training himself through a focus on *duritia* in order to successfully return to avenge his hurt pride. Cf. Thomas (2001) *ad* 229-31: "V. employs the language and ideas used by observers of the *duritia* of primitive societies, who invariably specify unsophisticated diet and sleeping on the ground. For more, see Thomas (1982) 47, 95-100.

Beyond her isolation from the humanity, Io is also removed from her familial community. Ovid draws attention to this removal in the following lines:

venit et ad ripas, **ubi ludere saepe solebat**,
Inachidas: rictus novaque ut conspexit in unda
cornua, pertimuit seque exsternata refugit.
naides ignorant, ignorat et Inachus ipse,
quae sit; at illa patrem sequitur sequiturque sorores
et patitur tangi seque admirantibus offert.
(*M.* 1.639-44)

And she comes to the shores, where she often used to play, the ones of Inachus: when she saw her jaw and new horns in the water, she was frightened and, having seen herself, she fled back. The naiads were unaware, and unaware was Inachus himself, of who she was; but she followed her father and followed her sisters and suffered to be touched and offered herself to those admiring her.

Unlike the Vergilian bull, Io goest not to unknown shores (*ignotis oris*), instead returning to the shores of her father's river, the location of her community where she used to play as a young girl (*ubi ludere saepe solebat*). Now, however, she is no longer a girl – or a human. Ovid emphasizes the separation of the bovine Io from her memories of her childhood by delaying Io's recognition scene until this moment. Even though she has been in a bovine form for some time, this is the first time Io actually sees herself. The sight of her new (*nova*) form in the waters of her childhood creates a displacement of identity that causes Io to flee: she sees a foreign face reflected back in her father's waters and is again reminded of her changed form.[214]

Feldherr (2010) provides another interpretive angle that moves Io's moment of revelation beyond the narrative, bringing the reader into the text as a participant: this moment not only is the moment of Io's realization of reality but also *the reader's realization* of Io's perception of reality:

[214] Cf. Narcissus (3.339-510). For more on pools and their reflective properties in art, see Taylor, especially pp. 56-77 and Hardie (2002), especially pp. 143-72.

This moment of self-recognition as cow, then, comes when she literally sees herself as others see her, and those others are her readers, and yet the very same device makes the reader himself a reflection of Io, and so gives access to her experience as perceiving subject (20).

At this moment, then, both the reader and Io see both narrative perspectives: although Io is truly a human in bovine form and perceives herself as such, she and the reader now understand that she no longer has a place in her father's realm;[215] her reaction to this realization is nearly identical to her initial response to her transformed speech (***pertimuitque*** *sonos propriaque* ***exterrita*** *voce est*, 638 ≈ ***pertimuit*** *seque* ***exsternata*** *refugit*, 641).

In addition to her displacement from her communal location and her failure to recognize herself, members of her community are also unaware of her identity and presence. The chiastic line following Io's reflective episode highlights the lack of awareness in her community, a fact heightened by the anadiplosis of the verb *ignorare*. Neither the naiads nor Inachus himself recognize her in her bovine form.[216] Io, of course, still recognizes them, and in her mind, they are her sisters and father.[217] The disconnection between Io and her family is emphasized by the repetition in ll. 632-33: whereas the community members are identified by their proper names in relation to a cow

[215] Cf. the Vergilian bull's exile from his *regnis avitis* in *G.* 3.228.
[216] Bömer *ad* 1.642: "Damit sind heir die Flußnymphen des Inachus gemeint, d.h. Ios Schwestern". ["Thus here the river nymphs of Inachus are meant, i.e., Io's sisters."]
[217] Feldherr (2010) 18 argues that the narrative be read along similar 'double' lines in his discussion of Io's interaction with Argus: "[The] mirroring within the text reminds us how different things look when viewed from out of the cow's eye, and how disorienting our experience of the narrative becomes when such a possibility enters into it. Io, unlike Argus, does not take her cow form for granted; she acts as though she were human and finds that her form baffles and frightens her and frustrates her intentions." For more on the double nature of external reality and psychological perception, see Rosati (1983) 109-114.

in the first line, in the second, seen through Io's eyes (*at illa*), these same members are her sisters (*sorores*) and father *(patrem*).

Yet, although Io is in the presence of her community and recognizes them as such, she still is not a part of it because she has no means of communicating her identity to them:[218]

illa manus lambit patriisque dat oscula palmis nec retinet lacrimas, et, si modo verba sequantur, oret opem nomenque suum casusque loquatur. (*M.* 1.646-48)	She licks [Inachus'] hands and gives kisses to the fatherly palms, but she cannot hold back tears, and, if only words were able to follow, she would beg for help and say her name and misfortunes.

She attempts to indicate her identity through performing a variety of loving, human-like gestures: she kisses the hand of one she herself recognizes as her father, she allows herself to be embraced, and she weeps.[219] However, these gestures are interpreted as those of a cow and the effect they produce is one of astonishment (*admirantibus*), but not recognition. Io is now in a similar position that faced Actæon in Book 3: although she knows what she wants to say, she lacks the verbal ability to do so.

This is the point at which all of the other tales of speech loss we have examined end: the character's speech loss has isolated him/her from community, enclosing him/her within a foreign body and prohibiting him/her from communicating identity. With Io, however, Ovid starts a different narrative pattern, one that – as we shall see in Chapter 3 – he continues into his exile literature; for Io, although lacking both a *vultus* and a *vox* by

[218] Anderson *ad* 1.647-48: "The chief obstacle to communication after metamorphosis stems from lack of human speech to vent the compelling force of human feelings inside the 'new' animal."

[219] In Ovid, animals weeping (e.g., Io, Actæon) is a sign of a human trapped inside an animal form. Whether animals can weep to express emotion is still a debated issue. Charles Darwin admitted only reluctantly that monkeys and elephants weep (Darwin 1998: 136, 168). For more, see Lateiner (2009) 277-296. For weeping in antiquity, more generally, see Fögen (2009).

which to communicate her identity, finds another manner of communication: the written word: [220]

littera pro verbis, quam pes in pulvere **duxit**,
corporis **indicium** mutati triste peregit.
'**me miserum!**' exclamat pater Inachus inque gementis
cornibus et nivea pendens cervice iuvencae
'**me miserum!**' ingeminat; 'tune es quaesita per omnes
nata mihi terras? tu non inventa reperta
luctus eras levior! retices nec mutua nostris
dicta refers, alto tantum suspiria ducis
pectore, quodque unum potes, ad mea verba remugis!
at tibi ego ignarus thalamos taedasque parabam,
spesque fuit generi mihi prima, secunda nepotum.
de grege nunc tibi vir, nunc de grege natus habendus.
nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores;
sed nocet esse deum, praeclusaque ianua leti
aeternum nostros luctus extendit in aevum.'
(*M*. 1.649-63)

In place of words her hoof traced letters in the dust, a sad token of her changed body. 'Miserable me!' father Inachus cried, and clasped the moaning heifer's horns and snow-white neck. 'Miserable me!' he groaned: 'Are you the child I sought through all the world? Oh, lighter grief 'twas it when you were unfound than found. You give no answer; Silent, but from your heart so deep a sigh! A moo— all you can say— is your reply! I, knowing naught, made ready for your marriage, hoped for a son-in-law and grandchildren. But now the herd must find your husband, find your child. For me death cannot end my woes. Sad bane to be a god! The gates of death are shut; my grief endures for evermore.'
(*trans. adaptation of Melville*)

In an effort to communicate with her family, Io writes a symbol (*indicium*) of her identity into the sand, trading the spoken word for the written medium (*littera pro verbis*).[221] The term *indicium*, incidentally, also is used to describe the written indication

[220] Barchiesi *ad* 1.649-54: "Siamo di fronte a una vera 'invenzione' della scrittura, che in questo poema emerge per la prima volta come espressione di un nome e di una identità sommerse e di una assenza di tipo paradossale." ["We are faced with a true 'invention' of writing, which in this poem emerges for the first time as the expression of a name, of a submerged identity, and of an absence of paradoxical type.]

[221] Currently, the scholarly consensus regarding what exactly Io wrote in the sand is that it was her name. Bömer *ad* 1.649 posits that Io writes her name IΩ IΩ: "Die Kuh ihren Namen in den Sand schreib[t]." [The cow writes her name in the sand."] Anderson *ad loc.* agrees: "Ingenious Io finds a way to identify herself: by pawing on the earth the two letters of her name." Barchiesi *ad* 1.649-54: "Se si immagina che lo scriva il suo nome in lettere greche, si ottiene una forma adatta alle possibilità scrittorie di uno zoccolo nella sabbia: IΩ." ["If we imagine that her name is written in Greek letters, we get a form suitable for the possibile writings of a hoof in the sand"] Hardie (2002) 253, following Barchiesi *ad* 1.649-54, takes this a step further, arguing for a cross-linguistic pun between the Greek 'ιω, ιω', an expression of grief and pain, and the Latin equivalent spoken in response by Inachus: "*me miserum*".

In addition, Ovid's use of *indicium* to describe her symbol of identity foreshadows the similar story of Philomela. Cf. *Meta.* 10.215: In the story of Apollo and Hyacinthus, Apollo draws the letters *AI AI*

Philomela creates to communicate with her sister, Procne (see discussion below). Hardie (2002) reads the following lines as a progression of realization for Inachus, as he first translates what Io had written on the ground into its Latin equivalent (*me miserum*), and then, when he realizes the identity of the *iuvenca* – again pointing out a double meaning – he exclaims in grief *me miserum*![222] Yet, despite the grief expressed by Inachus, Io has successfully reconnected with her society and has communicated her identity through the written medium.

In fact, Ovid emphasizes the importance of writing – especially that of the poetic variety – to the successful communication of identity through his phrase *pes duxit*. The word *pes* is consistently used by Ovid and other poets as a reference to poetic composition because of its relation to the metrical feet. Furthermore, the word *ducere* harkens back to Ovid's principal goal in writing *Metamorphoses*: *deducere perpetuum carmen* from the creation of the world to the present day (1.4).[223] The term *ducere* itself has an artistic meaning in the sense of fashioning and casting, especially read along with *pes*.[224] By using such poetic terminology, Ovid emphasizes the importance of the medium of writing while offering an expression of the importance of poetry: through her writing, Io is able to communicate with her father and reintegrate herself into her family; through his writing, Ovid is able to communicate his identity as a gifted poet.

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on the flower as a symbol of grief. Bömer 199 sees a link between the *inscriptum* of 10.215 with the *indicium* of I.650.

[222] Hardie (2002) 253: "Inachus reads out the letters, translating from Greek to Latin as he does. Translating back into Greek his reduplicated *me miserum* yields a graphic image of the doubling of the person of his daughter through metamorphosis. How different is this Io from that Io!"

[223] Cf. to *ducere carmen* in the Philomela narrative

[224] Cf. Pliny *N.H.* XXXV.161; Ver. *Aeneid* VI.848, VII.634; Seneca *Ep.* 65.5; Pliny VII.125; Tib. 1.3.47-8; Varr. *Men.* 201. For more on *ducere* as an artistic word, see Bentley.

Despite her success in communicating her identity, Io still cannot be fully reintegrated into her community because of her bovine form, a fact that Ovid continues to highlight. His use of the words *gementis* and *iuvencae* plays on the duplicity of Io's nature, as both words have double meanings that can refer to either the animal or the human world.[225] Ovid, however, refuses to clarify, leaving Io's identity in the same ambiguous state. Likewise, Inachus' list of plans he had for his daughter serve not only to clarify his bourgeois tendencies but also to emphasize the continued disconnect between Io's human and animal nature.[226]

After this meeting of daughter and father, Ovid separates them again. However, although Argos takes her father away (*patri diversa*), he is not able to break the newly reconstituted bond of community; for Ovid now describes Io as a *natam* separated from her father, not as an isolated cow. Io's act of communication starts a series of events that eventually leads to her total reintegration with her community. Jupiter is moved by the scene of reconciliation and suffering between daughter and father (*nec superum rector mala tanta Phoronidos ultra / ferre potest*) and sends Mercury to slay Argos and to free Io.

Once free, Io is returned to her former shape. Her mouth is narrowed (*contrahitur rictus*) and she is, at last, able to speak again. In addition, Ovid uses the word *erigitur* to

[225] Anderson on ll. 651-2. The word *gemere* can be used to describe either the groans of humans or the lowing of animals. Likewise, *iuvenca* can be translated as either a young girl or as a young cow.
[226] Feldherr (2010) 19-20: "But this optimistic reading of reading as a way by which writing literally restores a lost identity is unfortunately only part of the story. For Inachus's subsequent speech reveals that it is very much his own sorrows that are on his mind. Far from empathizing with Io's misfortune, Inachus is interested only in what his daughter's new form means for him."

show how Io's posture changes from that of an animal to that of a human.[227] However, she still fears to speak lest she moo in the manner of a *iuvenca*, this time referring to a young cow (*metuitque loqui, ne more iuvencae / mugiat*, 745-6).[228] Her loss of speech and brush with isolation have scared her. But in the end, she finally is able to return to her long-abandoned speech (*et timide verba intermissa retemptat*). Moreover, she takes up an important place in the religious world of her community as a priestess of Isis. Ovid's choice of the Isis cult for Io continues the link between cow and human, but in a communal setting. The ambiguous status between animal and human that once had removed Io from society now involves her in the community as a link between the human and the gods.

Io's story could well have ended as the stories of Lycaon, Callisto, Echo and Acteon. She could have fallen further into isolation and possibly into death. However, after losing her ability to speak and after suffering isolation from society, Io is able to communicate through *writing*. Not only does she regain her ability to speak, but she also reintegrated into community as a link between humanity and the divine (*nunc dea linigera colitur celeberrima turba*).

Philomela

[227] Ovid has already made this difference clear in the cosmogony (I.85-6). See Anderson on 744-6. In addition, Cf. Ovid's description of the retransformation of Ulysses' men (XIV.303). See Bömer 219 for *erigere* «im Bereich der Rückverwandlung.»

[228] Barchiesi *ad loc* points to the ironic alliteration in this line: "L'allitterazione in *m*- prolunga ironicamente nel linguaggio umano l'eco del muggito da cui Io, incredula, si vede liberata." [The alliteration of the prolonged '*m*' in human language ironically echoes the mooing from which Io, incredulous, sees herself freed."] For the irony of a human mooing as a cow, Cf. also Vergil *Aen.* 12.715-19.

The story of Philomela, Procne and Tereus is one of the oldest tales discussed in this chapter, as the earliest traces date to Hesiod and Sappho.[229] The most definitive form of the myth, however, is Sophocles' *Tereus*, a play based in the Attic version of the myth and not the Homeric one. In the story, Tereus, the king of Thrace, marries the Athenian Procne and takes her back to his kingdom. Then, sometime later, Tereus rapes her sister Philomela and cuts out her tongue to prevent her from reporting his misdeed. Philomela, now unable to speak, sends to Procne a message woven into a piece of cloth about her situation. Then, the two sisters take revenge upon Tereus by killing his son, Itys, and serving Itys to Tereus in a banquet. When Tereus discovers their deed, he, enraged, chases the sisters in an attempt to kill them. However, before he succeeds, all three are transformed into birds: Procne into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow, and Tereus into a hawk or a hoopoe.[230]

The Ovidian version of the myth followed the Attic version in most regards, with the exception of the assignment of transformation to the characters.[231] The Roman authors, in general, changed the types of birds into which the characters were transformed, instead identifying the nightingale as Philomela and the swallow as

[229] An alternate and possibly even earlier version is hinted at in Homer (*Od*. 19.518ff.) and Pherecydes (*FGH* 2 F 124). In that version, Aedon, a daughter of Pandareos and the wife of Zethus, becomes jealousy of her sister-in-law Niobe's fecundity and attempts to kill the eldest of Niobe's children. However, she accidentally kills her own child instead. As a result, she either becomes a bird immediately after the deed or she becomes one after being chased by her husband.

[230] In all of the Attic versions of the tale, save Aeschylus, Tereus is transformed into a hawk. In Aeschylus, however, he is changed into a hoopoe (fr. 581). Forbes-Irving 248-9 suggests that this may have been because of the "belief that the immature hoopoe is a hawk. [In addition] word-play on the Greek for hoopoe (ἔποψ) which may have been understood to mean the same as Tereus, seems likely to have played a part."

[231] For more on the different versions and their roles in Ovid, see Hardie (2002) 265-7.

Procne.[232] Ovid, however, purposefully leaves this aspect ambiguous, as we shall see.[233] Beyond the handling of the transformation itself, the only major difference the Ovidian story has in comparison with the other Ovidian versions we have discussed is the fact that speech loss was already a key aspect to the myth and Ovid did not have to create it out of whole cloth. Yet, Ovid does spend a great deal more time on speech loss - and on the senses in general[234] - in his version than do the earlier versions and he uses speech loss to focus on the issues of community and identity we have traced throughout the *Metamorphoses*.

Throughout the tale, Ovid uses Philomela's ability to speak (or lack thereof) to identify her relationship with both her familial community and the human community at large. Before her rape at the hands of Tereus, Philomela is portrayed as a woman with the power to speak and the determination to use that power to spread news of Tereus' misdeed to the community at large. After her tongue is removed, however, Philomela becomes physically isolated from community through her inability to produce articulate speech and her physical removal from society in the woods. Still, like Io, Philomela overcomes her loss of speech by weaving an *indicium* of her identity into a cloth and sending the cloth to her sister, thus effecting her reintegration into society.

At the beginning of the tale, Ovid places the setting of the story in the realm of human community and palace civilization as a foil to Philomela's movement from it to

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[232] Forbes-Irving 249. Williams 1997, 24ff. attributes this shift to a "confusion between nightingale and swallow in Greek" that filtered down into the Roman tradition (31). Vergil is good example of this: Procne is the nightingale in *Eclogue* 6, but Philomela in *Georgics* 4.
[233] *M.* 6.668-9: *quarum petit altera silvas, / altera tecta subit.*
[234] Feldherr (2010) 199-239 provides an extended argument on the "episode's complex construction of the cognitive and emotional effects of looking" (199).

the animal realm, a movement that results in her entrance into a state of 'wavering identity' between human and animal that is marked by the isolation of speech loss. As the plot opens, the entirety of the action takes place in a wholly urban, civilized setting: the palaces of Tereus and Pandion in Thrace and Athens, respectively. Tereus, at the request of Procne, sails from his palace to Pandion's and asks that Philomela return with him to Thrace. After Pandion's approval is gained, Philomela is transported from Athens to Thrace. However, upon arrival in Thrace, Philomela is not taken to the palace, but to the wilderness:

Barbarus et nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa,
non aliter, quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis
deposuit nido **leporem** Iovis ales in alto:
nulla fuga est capto, spectat sua praemia raptor.
Iamque iter effectum, iamque in sua litora fessis
puppibus exierant, cum rex Pandione natam
in stabula alta trahit, **silvis obscura vetustis**,
atque ibi pallentem trepidamque et cuncta timentem
et iam cum lacrimis, ubi sit germana, rogantem
includit fassusque nefas et virginem et **unam**
vi superat frustra clamato saepe parente,
saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia divis.
illa tremit velut **agna pavens**, quae saucia cani
ore excussa lupi nondum sibi tuta videtur,
utque **columba** suo madefactis sanguine plumis
horret adhuc avidosque timet, quibus haeserat, ungues.
(*M.* 6.515-530)

The barbarian [Tereus] never casts his eyes away from her in a manner no different than that in which the predator looks at his prey, when the bird of Jove clutches a hare with its taloned feet in the bright heights: there is no escape for the captured one. Now the journey was complete, now they had exited the spent ships into their lands, when the king dragged the one born of Pandion into the high stables, hidden in the ancient woods, and there imprisons her, pallid and trembling and fearing all things and now with tears asking where her sister was, and professing his unspeakable act, he takes both the girl, alone, and her maidenhood by force, while parent's names are often called out, often her sister's, and above all the names of the great gods. She trembles like a frightened lamb, who, though wounded, has shaken off the mouth of the gray wolf, yet still doesn't consider herself safe, or as a dove, with her feathers soaked in her own blood, shudders and still fears the greedy claws in which she had been ensnared.

This passage presents the violent shift in setting from civilization to wilderness and begins to show Philomela's movement from human to animal or, as Philip Hardie has

observed, emphasizes the dehumanization that comes from "Tereus' removal of Philomela from the world of palace civilization to the wild woods".[235] No longer is Philomela in her own land, but she is in the land of the Thracians (*sua* [i.e., Tereus] *litora*) and is dragged (*trahit*) as an animal would drag its prey (*cum pedibus praedator . . . ales in alto*) to the high stables (*stabula alta*). Such a location emphasizes both the sense of foreboding for Philomela and her impending dehumanization through allusions to the journey made by Aeneas on his way to the Underworld in *Aeneid* 7 (*itur in antiquam* ***silvam, stabula alta ferarum***, 7.179).[236] Moreover, in addition to the relocation of Philomela to the animal realm, Ovid also points to her impending slippage of identity through his use of three similes, all of which portray Philomela as a frightened animal,[237] as she is likened to a hare (*leporem*), a frightened lamb (*agna pavens*), and a dove (*columba*).[238]

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[235] Hardie 262. Hardie goes on to equate the scenes of Tereus' rape of Philomela with the woodland consummation of Dido and Aeneas in *Aeneid* 4. For more on this comparison, see Segal (1994), p. 271.

[236] Rosati *ad loc.*: "Il luogo scelto da Tereo per lo stupro evoca risonanze sinistre, legate al bosco che precede la discesa infernale di Enea, e risulta quasi l'emblema del mondo 'selvaggio', di quanto di più remoto dalla luce della civiltà, nonché figura degli oscuri abissi psichici di Tereo." ["The place chosen by Tereus for rape evokes sinister echoes, related to the forest that precedes the hellish descent of Aeneas, and is nearly the symbol of the 'wild' world, extremely remote from the light of civilization, as well as of the figure of the dark psychic abyss of Tereus."]

[237] Anderson *ad* 6.516-8: "The similarity Ovid is stressing exists between the rabbit, helpless and beyond the reach of assistance, about to be destroyed, and Philomela, helpless and separated from her father, about to be ravished." ibid., *ad* 6.527-530: "Like the simile in 516-518 this one concentrates on Tereus as beast or bird of prey and on Philomela as his prey; the difference is that now the prey has been hurt."

[238] Richlin (1992) 163ff. argues that the dove-hawk and the lamb-wolf depictions are often used in Ovidian similies to heighten an erotic or voyeristic tone. Cf. *AA* 1.117-8: *ut fugiunt aquilas, timidissima turba, columbae, / utque fugit visos agna novella lupos*; *AA* 2.363-4: *accipitri timidas credis, furiose, columbas? / plenum montano credis ovile lupo?* Also, Cf. their deployment in the Daphne and Apollo story at *M.* 1.505-6: *sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem, / sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae;* and in the story of the rape of Lucretia in *Fasti* 2.799-800: *sed tremit, ut quondam stabulis deprensa relictis / parva sub infesto cum iacet agna lupo*. For more on the relationship between Lucretia and Philomela, see Feldherr (2010) 215-223.

Beyond Ovid's emphasis on Philomela's entrance into the animal realm, in this passage there is a distinct focus on Philomela's isolation from her community as well. First, the stable to which Philomela is taken is described as *silvis obscura vetustis*, isolated deep in the most ancient part of the woods, removed from society by its depth. Secondly, through its position in the hexameter line, separated from its antecedent, the phrase *et unam* emphasizes Philomela's isolation regardless of whether it is read as hendiadys or polysyndeton with *et virginem*.[239] Likewise, in addition to the constant emphasis on her isolation, the community from which she is isolated is brought to the forefront. Philomela calls to her sister and father for help, but there is no response. Moreover, the fact that Ovid identifies Procne and Pandion not by their proper names, but by their relationship to Philomela (*soror*, *parens*) highlights the familial relationship as the focus of the passage (cf. Io above). Furthermore, Philomela herself is not mentioned by name, but only through her relationship to her family as *Pandione natam*, further stressing Ovid's focus on the familial bonds that are threatened by Tereus' abduction.

Against this background of Philomela's impending isolation from her familial and human communities and her movement into the animal realm, Ovid now focuses his attention on the aspect of Philomela's identity that must be removed in order for this transformation to occur: her speech. First, he allows his audience to see Philomela's voice in action, as she delivers a threatening speech to Tereus, in the wake of her rape, in which speech she promises to expose him with her voice in public, community fora. Secondly, after her speech, Ovid shifts the entire narratological focus off of the rape,

[239] Anderson *ad loc*.: "the polysyndeton or elaborate use of connectives here serves to separate the two key words and make us take them in one by one".

which had been the dominant focus of the first half of the narrative, and onto the removal of Philomela's tongue, the very instrument with which she was planning to articulate her revenge on Tereus.

After her rape, Philomela delivers a powerful speech to Tereus filled with what Bömer termed heroic anger.[240] The speech is so effective that it strikes fear into Tereus and causes him to cut out the tongue that had spoken it. In terms of our analysis of speech loss, Philomela's speech accomplishes two things. First, it highlights the fact that she could speak – and speak well – and thus had an ability to lose her speech (cf. the use of direct speech in the Actæon and Byblis episodes and the focus on *vocalis* in the Echo narrative). Secondly, and more importantly, the content of the speech focuses on speech as a means of getting revenge on Tereus. Moreover, the ways in which Philomela promises to use her speech are all communal and public in nature. An example is the end of her speech in which she levies her threats against Tereus:

si tamen haec superi cernunt, si numina divum
sunt aliquid, si non perierunt omnia mecum,
quandocumque mihi poenas dabis! **ipsa pudore**
proiecto tua facta loquar: si copia detur,
in populos veniam; si silvis clausa tenebor,
inplebo silvas et conscia saxa movebo;
audiet haec aether et si deus ullus in illo est!'
(*M.* 6.542-48)

However, if the gods above perceive these actions of yours, if the powers of the gods are indeed something, if everything has not perished with me, at some point you will pay the price! I myself, throwing modesty aside, shall speak your deeds: if an opportunity is given, I shall come to the people; if I am held prisoner, I shall fill the woods and I shall move the rocks as witnesses; this air shall hear, along with whatever god there is in it!

Philomela's threats are based on one concept: her ability to tell the world of Tereus' misdeeds (*tua facta loquar*). As we have seen, *loqui* is a verb of communication that describes articulate speech. The two *si*-clauses that follow Philomela's statement qualify

[240] Bömer *ad* 6.547.

what type of articulate speech Philomela has in mind, but both require some sort of communal interaction. The first option Philomela mentions is that she could go into a crowd of people and deliver a speech on Tereus' deeds. Such a civic locus for her speech is made clear by the terms *copia* and *populos,* both of which carry connotations of delivering a speech in public fora.[241] Doing so is clearly a communal act of communication with which Philomela can fight Tereus' attempt to isolate her in the wilderness.[242]

The second option Philomela provides is that she will fill the woods with her complaints of Tereus' misdeeds and make the rocks her witnesses. This form of speech is a far cry from the delivery of oratory in the forum; yet, it is just as communal. Instead of drawing on oratory, this option depends upon poetry and the ability to communicate complaints through it. The verb *implere* deserves particular attention, as it is used multiple times in the Ovidian corpus in descriptions of poetic complaints and poetic production.[243] Ovid himself uses the term of his own poetry in *Tristia* 4.3.72-3 as a description of how he fills his poetry with stories of his wife (*exemplumque mihi coniugis esto bonae / **materiamque tuis tristem virtutibus imple***). Here, Philomela is the poet who will fill (*implebo*) the woods with her complaints.

[241] Anderson *ad* 6.544-48 agrees with the argument for an oratorical setting of Philomela's speech, but points out that the unreal condition is justifiable because "women were not normally given the opportunity to address the populace."
[242] Rosati *ad* 6.542-8: "La minaccia è quella di rivelare pubblicamente le colpe di Tereo (rinunciando al 'pudore' del silenzio, e confessando un'umiliazione che si tende a non portare allo scoperto)." ["The threat is to reveal publicly the guilt of Tereus (renouncing the 'shame' of silence and confessing a humiliation that tends not to be exposed)."]
[243] Cf. *M.* 2.372, 3.180, 7.114, 7.662, 8.448, 9.165, 12.56, 15.676; *H.* 5.73, 6.58; *F.* 4.482; *T.* 3.3.29.

In addition to the semantic meaning of *implere*, the entire depiction of Philomela in the woods evokes images of Orpheus, the master-poet who was famed for moving nature (*movere*) with his songs.[244] Instead of performing her complaints in a civic setting, in this option Philomela would shift her attention and would engage in the pastoral and elegiac complaints of shepherds,[245] speaking to the community of the creatures of the woods and, perhaps, to other victims of transformation.[246]

After setting such a background for Philomela's impending movement into isolation in the animal realm and drawing the audience's attention to her verbal abilities, Ovid shifts the focus of the narrative onto her loss of speech and the completion of her transformation:

Talibus ira feri postquam commota tyranni nec minor hac metus est, causa stimulatus utraque, quo fuit accinctus, vagina liberat ensem arreptamque coma fixis post terga lacertis vincla pati cogit; iugulum Philomela parabat spemque suae mortis viso conceperat ense: ille indignantem et nomen patris usque vocantem luctantemque loqui conprensam forcipe	After the anger of the savage tyrant had been stirred by such words and not a small fear arose at this, having been goaded by each cause, Tereus freed the sword from its sheath by his side, and, seizing her hair, gathered it together to use as a tie to tether her arms behind her back. Philomela, seeing the sword, and hoping only for death, offered up her throat. But he severed her tongue with his savage blade, holding it with pincers, as it struggled to speak

[244] Bömer *ad* 6.547: "Beide Intentionen sind ebenso phantastisch, wie sie poetisch das ganze Pathos heroischen Zorns zum Ausdruck bringen. Die Wendung ist sprichwortlich. Dazu aus Ovid, der das Bild nur gelegentlich auf Orpheus bezieht." ["Both intentions are just as fantastic as they poetically bring the whole pathos of heroic scorn to express anger. The phrase is proverbial. Thus it is in Ovid, who only refers to the image occasionally in regard to Orpheus."] Cf. *M.* 9.303ff. (***motura*** *. . . duros . . . verba . . .* ***silices***); 13.48 (***saxa moves*** *gemitu*); *Am.* 3.57ff. (*illa graves potuit quercus adamantaque durum surdaque blanditiis* ***saxa movere*** *suis*); *AA* 3.321 (***saxa*** *. . . lyra* ***movit*** *. . . Orpheus*).

[245] Rosati *ad* 6.542-8: "Riempire le selve (di lamenti, anche se qui ambiguamente si lascia intender un grido di denuncia) è l'atto topico dell'usignolo." ["Filling the forests (of complaints, even if we set aside the ambiguous intention of a cry of complaint) is the typical act of the nightingale"] Cf. Ver. *G.* 4.514-5: *flet noctem ramoque sedens miserabile carmen*
integrat et ***maestis*** *late loca* ***questibus implet****.*

[246] The phrase *conscia saxa*, translated either as 'witness' (Cf. Ver. *Aeneid* 4.166-8 at the 'wedding' of Aeneas and Dido: *prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno / dant signum; fulsere ignes et* ***conscius aether*** */ conubiis summoque ululârunt uertice Nymphae*) or as 'conscious' may include an oblique allusion to the story of Niobe from earlier in *Met.* 6. In that story, Niobe was turned into a *saxum* (*Met.* 6.309) after the murder of her children.

linguam
abstulit ense fero. radix micat ultima linguae,
ipsa iacet terraeque tremens inmurmurat atrae,
utque salire solet mutilatae cauda colubrae,
palpitat et moriens dominae vestigia quaerit.
(*M*. 6.551-60)

in indignation, calling out her father's name repeatedly. Her tongue's root was left quivering, while the rest of it lay on the dark soil, vibrating and trembling, and, as though it were the tail of a mutilated snake moving, it writhed, as if, in dying, it was searching for some sign of her.

In this scene, Philomela ceases to be the subject of Tereus' outrage, and the source of her verbal threats attracts Tereus' wrath (***Talibus*** *ira feri postquam commota tyranni*).[247] Thus, Ovid shows the audience the tongue of Philomela, the source of her articulate speech, brutally cut out by the root (*radix micat ultima linguae*). Amy Richlin comments upon this narratological shift, adding, "Ovid has shifted the focus of dramatic attention in this tale forward off the rape and backwards off the metamorphosis, onto the scene of the cutting out of Philomela's tongue."[248] Ovid takes this aspect of the story directly from Apollodorus' version (καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς); however, with typical Ovidian vividness, he adds a new pathos and horror to the story by making the tongue itself the subject of the narrative.[249]

By these shifts of emphasis to the tongue and its actions, Ovid is pointing out to his audience that the most central transformation that is occurring is not Philomela's

[247] Anderson *ad loc*.: "The word order of 549-50 is noteworthy. Ovid starts with *talibus* (understand *verbis, vocibus*), to make a rapid transition from the speech to its effects."
[248] Richlin, p. 164. Richlin goes on to argue the congruency between speech and gender, especially the phrase of Claudine Hermann, *voleuses de langue*, 'women thieves of language'. For more on speech and gender, see Joplin (2008) and Ostriker (1985).
[249] The participles that build through lines 555-56 deceive the audience because they do not describe Philomela's actions, but the tongue's, and this revelation is not become clear until the end of the clause and the word *linguam.* Such a delayed and surprising subject of the indirect speech only acts to further emphasize the new narrative focus on the tongue. Moreover, Ovid furthers his emphasis on the tongue through personification, describing the tongue writhing on the dark earth, following the footsteps of its mistress (*terraeque tremens inmurmurat atrae . . . dominae vestigia quaerit*), and finally coming to rest and laying on the ground (*ipsa iacet*). Moreover, the tongue's ability to produce articulate speech is curtailed, as the sound it can make shifts from the articulate *vocare* prior to its removal to the inarticulate *inmurmurare* after that action.

change from virgin to victim or the climax of Tereus' metamorphosis from husband to adulterer, but Philomela's move from the speaking world to the non-speaking world through the loss of her ability to produce articulate speech. Now, Philomela is placed completely in an ambiguous state: she is isolated from her familial and human communities in an animal realm without the ability to express her identity through articulate speech; she is neither fully animal nor fully human, but in a state in between both.

For the next year, Philomela remains locked away from her community and her identity is refashioned by Tereus.[250] Her family is informed by Tereus that she died on the journey (6.565-66), and they go through the appropriate rituals of mourning. Procne, believing the new identity of Philomela as dead professed by Tereus, creates a cenotaph for her sister. However, as Philip Hardie has noted in his discussion of illusions in Ovid, the identity created by Tereus for Philomela is merely a mirage, and Ovid hints at this by describing Procne's cenotaph as an *inane sepulcrum* and her offerings as those for *falsis manibus et fat[ibus] lugendae sororis* (6.568-70).[251]

At this point in the narrative, however, Procne is unaware of the false nature of Tereus' story, and Philomela's connection with her community and her identity has been broken. This is no more evident than in Ovid's description of her alone in the stables after Procne's 'funeral' for her:

[250] Tereus is commonly read as a key narrator in the *Metamorphoses*. For more on his narrating acts – and those of Philomela – see Segal 1994, 262-5.

[251] Hardie 2002, 84-91 and 259-272; especially 86-87, 267. Hardie 2002, 87: "All that the empty tomb contains is one version, Tereus', of the story of Philomela. But for all his skill as a narrator Tereus will be no match for the true version told by Ovid and retold, within Ovid's fiction, in Philomela's tapestry, the 'piteous poem' that is read by Procne."

Signa deus bis sex acto lustraverat anno; quid faciat Philomela? fugam custodia claudit, structa rigent solido stabulorum moenia saxo, **os mutum** facti caret indice. grande doloris ingenium est, miserisque venit sollertia rebus. (*M.* 6.571-575)	The year concluded, the god had led in a circle twice six signs; what could Philomela do? A guard closed off flight, the walls of the stable, built with solid stone, stand firm, and an *os mutum* lacks a means of describing the deed. Her mind is heavy with grief, but cleverness comes in miserable affairs.

In addition to indicating her physical isolation in the stables, Ovid also calls attention to her lack of speech with the phrase *os mutum*.[252] As we discussed in Chapter 1, *mutus* was term used to describe the type of speech loss associated with animality and emotionality. Likewise, *os* was a term for the face that more precisely described the human ability to speak.[253] Maurizio Bettini, as he did for our discussion of *vultus* and *species* in the Io story, provides a summation of the schematic connotations of *os*:[254]

In Latin, *os* has strong connotaions: it evokes a capacity that chiefly distinguishes human beings from other animate creatures: language. For Latin speakers, the connection between *os* and words such as *oro* or *orator* was probably immediately recognizable. But even ignoring etymological speculation, such common idioms as *in ore esse* ("to be much spoken of"), *uno ore* ("by general agreement") and *aperire ora* ("to speak") leave little doubt about the relationship between *os* and *oro*. Likewise the great number of passages in which *os* is used in the sense of 'discourse, speech,' 'the sound of voice' or 'pronunciation'. ***Os* is first and foremost 'speech'"** (Bettini 135) **[Bolded emphasis mine]**.

By describing Philomela as having an *os mutum*, Ovid encapsulates the entirety of her existence: isolated in an animal realm and bereft of speech. Her verbal identity (*os*)

[252] Bömer *ad loc*.notes that this is the first instance of this phrase in Latin literature, followed by a repetition at *F.* 2.613-14 (*vim parat hic, voltu pro verbis illa precatur, / et frustra **muto** nititur **ore** loqui*): "In lateinischer Literatur zuerst hier und fast. II 614 von der ebenfalls verstümmelten Lara."
[253] Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.9.17: *moderationem vocis, orationis vim, quae conciliatrix est humanae maxime societatis*. Also, Cf. Ernout-Miller 1965, s.vv. *os* and *oro*.
[254] For Bettini's fuller analysis, Cf. Bettini 134-136.

lacked the physical means (*indice*) with which Philomela could proclaim Tereus' deed and make good on her threats to proclaim his deeds (*tua **facta** loquar*, 6.545).[255]

Still, as in the story of Io, Philomela also finds a means of communicating her identity to her lost community through the written medium, and the shift from Philomela's isolated existence to her attempts to reconnect begin immediately after the climax of *os mutum*. Making use of a bucolic diaeresis, Ovid quickly shifts from what Philomela has lost to what she still has: *os mutum facti caret indice. ‖ grande doloris / ingenium est, miserisque venit sollertia rebus*. Although her mouth is mute (*os mutum*), Philomela, like Io, has her *ingenium* intact. In ancient literary criticism, especially that regarding Callimachean poetics, *ingenium* referred to the raw poetic talent in a poet, and was traditionally juxtaposed with *ars*, the actual polished skill of poetic composition.[256] In the context of the Philomela narrative, Ovid employs the term as a means of indicating Philomela's continued connection with humanity and her ability to create a narrative of her identity to undo that of Tereus.

As she had threatened to do if she were enclosed in the woods (*si silvis **clausa** tenebor*, 546), Philomela, enclosed in the stables (*fugam custodia **claudit***, 572), turns to poetry both to fill the woods (*inplebo silvas*, 547) surrounding the stables (*in stabula alta trahit, **silvis** obscura vetustis*, 521) with her complaints and to move the very stones of the stables that were indeed witness to her rape (*conscia **saxa** movebo*, 547 ≈ *structa*

[255] Bömer *ad loc*. reads *indice* as meaning *lingua* or *vox*, comparing this passage to a similar one from *F*. 4.328 (*index laetitiae fertur ad astra sonus*) and Cic. *Leg. Agr*. 2.4 (*non tabellam vindicem tacitae libertatis, sed vocem vivam prae vobis indicem vestrarum erga me voluntatum ac studiorum tulisti*s). Yet, his example from the *Fasti* refers not to the articulate sounds of a *lingua* or a *vox*, but the inarticulate ones of a *sonus*.

[256] Cf. *A.* 1.9.32; *Am.* 1.15.14; *T.* 2.424, 2.432, 3.3.73-76; Hor., *AP* 408-18; Prop. 2.24.23; For more, Cf. Newman 1967, esp. 395ff.; Luck 1977 *ad* 2.423ff.; and Brink 2011 *ad* 408-18.

*rigent solido stabulorum moenia **saxo***, 573). However, with no voice to sing her poetry, she turns to a written medium, weaving, to voice her identity:[257]

stamina barbarica suspendit **callida** tela
purpureasque notas filis **intexuit** albis,
indicium sceleris; perfectaque tradidit uni,
utque ferat dominae, **gestu rogat**; illa rogata
pertulit ad Procnen nec scit, quid tradat in illis.
evolvit vestes saevi matrona tyranni
germanaeque suae **carmen miserabile** legit
et (mirum potuisse) silet: dolor ora repressit,
verbaque quaerenti satis indignantia linguae
defuerunt, nec flere vacat, sed fasque nefasque
confusura ruit poenaeque in imagine tota est.
(*M.* 6.576-586)

She hangs the clever weft on the foreign warp and interweaves purple markings with white thread, a symbol of [Tereus'] wickedness; she handed the completed weaving to her one servant so that she might bring it to her mistress; she asks with a gesture; once asked, the servant carried it through to Procne and knew not what she handed over in the weaving. The wife of the savage tyrant unrolled the cloth and read the miserable song of her sister and (amazing her strength!) is silent: grief held back her voice, and words with enough scorn deserted her longing tongue, and there is no room for crying, but she rushed round, fit to confuse right and wrong, and was entirely engrossed in the image of vengeance.

Weaving, such as the kind in which Philomela engages here, was frequently associated with the creation of poetry, especially in the Callimachean tradition with which Ovid frequently associated himself.[258] Ovid even describes the *Metamorphoses* as a product of his weaving, using the most common image from writing poetry in Latin (*deducere carmen*).[259] Thus, the image of Philomela as poet continues, as she actually weaves the story of her true identity to oppose Tereus', a story that indeed is called a

[257] Weaving often is portrayed as an alternate and particularly female form of textuality. Penelope's actions in the *Odyssey* are the Greco-Roman prototype for this conception. For a Roman version, see the depiction of Delia in Tibullus 1.3. For more on weaving and the feminine in antiquity, Cf. Keller 1986, Klindienst 1984, Joplin 2008. For weaving as textuality more generally, see Durante 1976, 173-5; in the *Metamorphoses* in particular, see Rosati 1999.

[258] Cf. Eisenhut 1961; Deremetz 1995, 289ff.; and Rosati 1999. Rosati 1999, 246: "The metaphor of *deducere carmen* seems to take root in the Augustan age to denote both the elaboration of light, refined poetry (in opposition to ambitious and high-sounding genres: Cf. above all the proem of the sixth *Eclogue*), and the compostion of poetry in general; even more frequently *deducere Carmen* refers to the composition of narrative texts."

[259] In addition to the many Propertian and Hortian examples, Cf. Ver. *E.* 6.4-5 (*pastorem, Tityre, pinguis / pascere oportet ovis, **deductum** dicere **carmen***); Ov. *M.* 1.3-4 (*adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi / ad mea perpetuum **deducite** tempora **carmen**!*); Ov. *T.* 1.1.39 (***carmina** proueniunt animo **deducta** sereno*); Stat. *Ach.* 1.7 (*sed tota iuvenem **deducere** Troia*).

miserabile carmen.[260] Ovid's description of Philomela's narrative with these words marks her poetry as the type of pastoral lament that her threats against Tereus had promised.[261] The combination of *miserabile carmen* together with the verb *implere* creates an allusion to *Georgics* 4.511-5, in which Vergil describes the sad song of the nightingale, appropriately marked by the term *philomela*:

qualis populea maerens **philomela** sub umbra amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator observans nido implumes detraxit; at illa flet noctem ramoque sedens **miserabile carmen** integrat et maestis late loca questibus **implet**.	As the sorrowing nightingale seeks her lost children under the shade of the poplar, which the harsh plowman, noticing them has taken unfledged from the nest; but she cries through the night and, sitting on a branch, renews her miserable song and fills the whole place with sorrowful complaints…

Furthermore, terms such as *callida* and *intexuit* continue the metaphor of weaving poetry, portraying Philomela as a poet. Her warp is described as *callida*, clever, another term closely related to the Callimachaen concept of elaborate, learned poetry resulting from τέχνην (fr. 67.3), typically translated into Latin as *ars*.[262] Likewise, the verb *intexuit* comes from the semantic field of weaving that derives from the metaphor of *textus*, the interlacement of both written and verbal strands of poetry, and further casts Philomela in the role of the poet.[263]

[260] There is a textual issue here. In most versions, including Tarrant and Anderson, *carmen* is maintained. However, variations do exist: others include *crimen*, *casum*, *fatum*, and *textum*. For more, Cf. Tarrant and Bömer *ad loc*.
[261] Rosati *ad* 6.582.
[262] Cf. Ov. *A.* 1.2 (*an subit et tecta **callidus arte** nocet?*); Ov. *H.* 20.25-28 (*non ego natura nec sum tam **callidus** usu; / sollertem tu me, crede, puella, facis. / te mihi compositis, siquid tamen egimus, **arte** / adstrinxit verbis ingeniosus Amor*).
[263] Thomas 1983, 106-11; Rosati 1999 247: "Metaphors derived from the crafts of spinning and weaving are, in sum, ancient and widespread in literary contexts; an entire semantic field is constructed around the idea of the text (written or verbal) as an interlacement, as *textus*."

In addition to the Ovid's image of Philomela as poet attempting to renegotiate the depiction of her identity, two other aspects germane to the discussion of speech loss in her woven creation are *barbarica* and *indicium*. When Philomela hangs a *barbarica tela* on her loom, it is generally read as a reference to Thrace.[264] However, in light of Philomela's speech situation, it should also be read with an eye to speech. The foreignness of the web is not only because of its nationality but also because it represents a foreign method of communication for Philomela. Now she cannot communicate with her accustomed speech, but in a strange, new manner: weaving. In addition, *barbarica* can be read in its other sense of that which is foreign to one's cultural community, and thus Philomela is shown as excluded from her community because of her use of a *barbarica tela*.

The final word of interest in this passage concerns our discussion mostly because of its allusion. Philomela weaves her *notas* to evidence of the wickedness done unto her (*indicium sceleris*). This reminds the audience of what Io produced for her father and sisters while in her bovine form (*corporis indicium mutati triste peregit*).[265] Ovid's thematic and literal repetition serves to link the stories of Io and Philomela together: both undergo a transformation that both excludes them from society and strips them of their ability to speak. Still, both are able to overcome their afflictions and to communicate their identities through the written medium.

[264] Anderson *ad* 6.576. The web is *barbarica* "both literally and figuratively, since it is Thracian material and also will tell a tale of barbarity."
[265] See above.

When Philomela completes her artistic creation, she gives it to a servant and communicates to her what to do with it (*gestu rogat*).[266] This is significant. Philomela, from the moment she completes her tapestry, is able to communicate.[267] Oddly enough, she is no longer alone in the secluded hut: an attendant appears and the *uni* that fills the end of line 578 and designates the new, single servant (*indicium sceleris; perfectaque tradidit* ***uni***) has replaced the *unam* that marked the isolated Philomela at the end of line 524 (*includit fassusque nefas et virginem et* ***unam***). However, this narrative oddity of the appearance of the attendant *e nihilo* should not be overlooked because it serves to push the story forward and to introduce the final important aspect of speech in the Philomela episode. The attendant represents the first instance of humanity reentering into Philomela's world.

When Procne receives the web from the sister whom she thought to be dead, she is overcome by grief. Ovid describes Procne's grief by creating a sympathetic mirror image of Philomela. The silence of Philomela is transferred onto her sister, as Procne reads her Philomela's *carmen* in complete silence. Ovid remarks that it would have been amazing if she had been able to speak (*mirum potuisse*).[268] Procne, like her sister, has

[266] Rosati *ad* 6.579: "Oltre al nuovo linguaggio 'testuale' per comunicare a distanza con Procne, Filomela deve ricorrere a un altro linguaggio alternative alla lingua, quallo gestuale, per poter comunicare all'ancella la richiesta di consegnare il messaggio." ["In addition to the new 'textual' language to communicate with Procne from a distance, Philomela must resort to another alternative language to the spoken word, to gestures, in order to communicate to the slave girl the request to deliver the message."] The phrase *gestu rogat* is also an expression applied to pantomime. For the connection of pantomime to the Philomela narrative, Cf. Feldherr 2010, 210 n16.

[267] The term gestus brings with it the the semantic range of an entire language of gesture through which one could express one's identity. Cf. Corbeill 17: "The Latin noun *gestus* derives from the verb *gerere* and refers literally to how the body 'carries' itself . . . this carriage can be read by observers as an indication of internal disposition.

[268] Anderson *ad loc* notes that Ovid uses the phrase *mirum potuisse* to introduce a physical metamophosis in 11.731.

undergone a metamorphosis by the loss of speech. Ovid furthers his point by adding the fact that grief restrained her mouth (although, Miller's Loeb translation "Grief chokes her words" exemplifies best what is happening here). Anderson comments that just as Philomela had been stimulated to communication by her *dolor* (574), Procne, ironically, is stifled by it.[269] It is also important that Ovid focuses on Procne's tongue and describes it as searching for words that were scornful enough (*verbaque **quaerenti** satis indignantia linguae*). Procne's indignation echoes Philomela's resentful tongue (*coniuge quae viso germanam **quaerit**, at ille / dat gemitus fictos commentaque funera narrat*, 555-6) and her inability to express her scorn.[270] Even more telling and important is the fact that Ovid describes the tongues of both sisters in the same manner: both are depicted with the verb *quaerere*. In such a manner, Ovid is able to create a connection between the sisters, a connection that had been stripped from Philomela from the moment at which she had been isolated from society.

Feldherr, in his 2010 analysis of the Philomela narrative, draws a more particular connection between the two sisters, arguing that throughout the tale the sisters are inextricably bound to each other as they roles change: Procne slowly loses her individuality and eventually becomes her sister, whereas Philomela slowly takes back her identity and becomes more of herself.[271] The point at which this slippage reaches a breaking is when Procne reads the *miserabile carmen*:

Procne's recognition of her sister throughout the written signs she receives begins two contradictory processes that anticipate precisely her later transformation into her

[269] ibid ll.583-4.
[270] ibid ll.583-4.
[271] Feldherr 2010, 199-239.

sister. As the text becomes a song, a *carmen*, Procne perceives it as a song abour herself, the *carmen suae fortunae*. At the same time that she sees herself in what she reads, though, we watch her from without and see her changed into Philomela precisely by losing the capacity to speak, by becoming an image herself (*poenaeque in imagine tota est*). . . From the moment when she crafts her *carmen miserabile*, the person that Philomela represents is herself (230).

Feldherr's analysis, in addition to identifying a point of slippage between the characters, also emphasizes this moment as key in the reintegration of Philomela into community. She has told the narrative of her identity and Procne has recognized it, retying the bond between the two that had been broken by Tereus' narrative of Philomela's death. This moment is the beginning of the victory of Philomela's narrative of her identity over Tereus'.

After Philomela successfully communicates with Procne, Philomela's isolation in the animal realm does not last for long. A mere fifteen lines later, Procne, adorned with the trappings of the Bacchic festival, goes to the secluded hut, breaks into it, and finds her sister.[272] Her first action is key: Procne does not attempt to do anything but dress her sister up as a fellow Bacchante. Anderson reads this scene as an indictment of Procne's humanity and that Procne, dressed as a Bacchante, completes her transformation into the irrational mother who later murders her son and feeds him to his father.[273] However, this is best read as a two-fold transformation. While temporarily losing her rational mind (*mens*) as a Bacchante, Procne becomes more like an animal. Therefore, it is easier for her to run from civilization and to free her sister. Indeed, her mental state is just as passionately irrational as Tereus' was, when he first arrived with Philomela. Both Tereus

[272] For a detailed analysis of the bacchantic imagery in the narrative, Cf. Segal 1994 273-79.
[273] Anderson *ad* 595-7.

and Procne are described as being violent to Philomela, dragging (*trahens*) her to their destination. (521, 600) Philomela is, in turn, terrified and pallid in both instances (522, 602). Thus, Procne's crazed state is made clear. However, a transformation also occurs for Philomela. She is incorporated into the Bacchic ritual by her sister, an act that marks a reintegration into society for Philomela. As a Bacchante, she is brought back into the walls of the city and is reconnected with civilization and her family.

Once in the palace, Philomela cannot look her sister in the eye due to her disgrace and she tries to call upon the gods (for the first time since her rape) by using her hand as her voice (*pro voce manus fuit*). However, the crazed Procne cares little for this and hatches a plan to kill Itys, her son, and to feed him to Tereus. Procne looks upon her son and damns the fact that he can make pretty little speeches (*blanditias*) while Philomela's tongue remains silent (*silet altera lingua*). At this point, she kills her son and, together with Philomela, cooks and feeds him to Tereus. Again, we see Philomela wishing that she were able to speak, as she flings Itys' head into Tereus' face (*nec tempore maluit ullo / posse loqui et meritis testavi gaudia dictis*). Philomela is still not able to speak words; however, she is now able to communicate sufficiently. Feldherr goes as far as to assert that, although still voiceless, the act of throwing Itys' head at Tereus marks Philomela's final act of reasserting her identity, as it exposes rather than conceals her crime.[274]

Ovid, however, never tells his audience that Philomela recovers her human voice.[275] In fact, his omission is striking when compared with his focus on how Io

[274] Feldherr 2010, 230ff.

[275] Cf. Forbes-Irving 233-260, which describes avian metamorphosis as a class of transformation in which the transformed individual never returns to his/her pre-metamorphosis form, but instead exhibits

(above) regained her speech. In addition to regaining her community, Philomela also regains a voice that, although not human, is capable of articulate speech through her transformation into a bird. The type of bird Philomela becomes, however, is left ambiguous by Ovid, most likely to emphasize the reconstitution of community between the sisters. He states that one becomes a swallow under the eaves of roofs and that the other flies to the woods (*quarum petit altera silvis, altera tecta subit*). The reader is left to wonder whether Philomela or Procne goes into the wilderness. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, the entire Roman tradition of the myth asserts that Philomela was transformed into a nightingale and Procne into a swallow. This reading seems most likely for Ovid's tale as well, as the multiple descriptions of Philomela singing in the forest and his allusion to the passage from the *Georgics* about the nightingale (*philomela*) singing a *miserable carmen* in the forest make most sense in that context.

The significance of the identification of the bird into which Philomela was transformed comes from ancient theories on the relationships between animals and humans.[276] As mentioned in Chapter 1, one of the key distinctions made between animals and man was linguistic ability: man is able to speak; animals are not. However, the linguistic abilities of all animals are not equal. In fact, in ancient treatises on the relationship between man and beast, the animal whose linguistic ability is closest to that

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characteristics from before metamorphosis in his/her transformed state. Cf. Payne 87ff. on Aristophanes' *Birds* and select fragments of Aeschylus.

[276] Special thanks to the audience at the Boston University Graduate Conference, especially Mark Payne and Steven Scully, for their advice on this argument.

of humans is the bird.[277] Aristotle, though not believing birds to have the rational ability (νοῦς) of humans,[278] still hints at the fact that they may have a higher linguistic ability than other animals.[279] Likewise, Plutarch, in both his *De esu carnium* (994E) and his *De sollertia animalium* (972F-73E), attributes to birds the ability to speak in an articulate manner to each other, as they have developed through self-instruction (αὐτομάθειαν) the ability to communicate.[280] Humans, however, lack the ability to understand bird communication and, therefore, take it for mere inarticulate jibberish. Finally, in his chapter on birds (*NH* 10.43), Pliny the Elder devotes an entire section to the nightingale, attributing to the species sounds unique to each nightingale,[281] the ability to choose what

[277] Alexandridis, Wild and Winkler-Horaček 2008; Heath 2005; Gera 2003, 208-211; Sorabji 1993, 80-86; Glidden 1994; Tabarroni 1988; Dierauer 1977.

[278] *De partibus animalium* 660a35-660b2: **Καὶ χρῶνται τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν ἀλλήλοις πάντες μέν, ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων μᾶλλον, ὥστ' ἐπ' ἐνίων καὶ μάθησιν εἶναι δοκεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων•** εἴρηται δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τῶν ζῴων. [**All [birds] use their tongues for communication with one another, some more so than others, so that it is likely that there is some information conveyed by some of them to the others**. I have spoken of these in my books on animals. (Trans. S. Newmyer)] Aristotle's distinction of νοῦς in terms of speech (λόγος) is discussed at *Eth. Nic.* 1177b27-78a2 and *De an.* 429a22-27. For more, see Zirin 1980, Kullman 1991 and Lennox 1999.

[279] Cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 504b1-3, 535a28-536a22; *De interp.* 16a28-29; and *Pol.* 1253a10-14. Payne 84-88 provides a good, concise overview of Aristotle's biology of language, following closely Zirin 1980 and his analysis of Aristotle. Anotherr, more lengthy survey, is Whitaker 1996, 45-51. For a more detailed analysis of the difference between animal and human speech, see Dierauer 1977, especially pp. 126-28.

[280] Newmyer 1999, 99-110.

[281] *ac ne quis dubitet artis esse, plures singulis sunt cantus, nec iidem omnibus, sed sui cuique.* [We may here remark that every bird has a number of notes peculiar to itself; for they do not, all of them, have the same, but each, certain melodies of its own. (trans: J. Bostock)]

to sing and how to sing it,[282] and a means of instruction and communication between nightingales.[283]

In all of these instances, the bird is set apart from the rest of the animal kingdom in regard to the species' ability to produce articulate speech. Moreover, Pliny the Elder extends this ability to nightingales in particular, describing their utterances as a type of *vox*, a term for articulate speech. What this means for the Philomela narrative is that, when she is transformed into a nightlingale, she regains a type of speech for herself. Although different from her human voice, the voice of the nightingale was considered articulate, and, thus, Philomela is able to speak in an articulate fashion again. Now, she is reunited with her community in avian form and is able to continue to sing her songs with the articulate speech of the nightingale.

Thus, the story of Philomela, like that of Io, highlights the loss of speech and its effect on identity. Both characters lose their ability to speak at the hands of a lustful rapist and are isolated in the wilderness, isolated from their familial and human communities. However, both find their voices again through the written medium. As

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[282] *deinde in una perfecta musica scientia: modulatus editur sonus et nunc continuo spiritu trahitur in longum, nunc variatur inflexo, nunc distinguitur conciso, copulatur intorto, promittitur revocato, infuscatur ex inopinato, interdum et secum ipse murmurat, plenus, gravis, acutus, creber, extentus, ubi visum est, vibrans, summus, medius, imus.* [And then, too, it is the only bird the notes of which are modulated in accordance with the strict rules of musical science. At one moment, as it sustains its breath, it will prolong its note, and then at another, will vary it with different inflexions; then, again, it will break into distinct chirrups, or pour forth an endless series of roulades. (trans: J. Bostock)]

[283] *audit discipula intentione magna et reddit, vicibusque reticent: intellegitur emendatae correptio et in docente quaedam reprehensio.* [The younger birds are listening in the meantime, and receive the lesson in song from which they are to profit. The learner hearkens with the greatest attention, and repeats what it has heard, and then they are silent by turns; this is understood to be the correction of an error on the part of the scholar, and a sort of reproof, as it were, on the part of the teacher. (trans: J. Bostock)]

Fögen 2007 pp. 189-91 reads this description as an instance of Pliny's "tendency towards anthropomorphisation", as Pliny gives the nightingale an ability equal with an *ars.* For the relationship between the descriptions of the nightingale in Pliny and Ovid, Cf. Williams 1997, p. 33.

such, Philomela and Io separate themselves from other transformation and speechless characters such as Lycaon, Callisto, Echo, Dryope and Actæon.

An analysis of the topic of speech loss in the *Metamorphoses* shows that the schematic connotations laid out in Chapter 1 are amply in evidence in Ovid's description of transformations within the *Metamorphoses*. In the stories discussed in this chapter, Ovid engages with the connections between speech loss, the non-human, and emotionality, and he embellishes his unique take on metamorphosis. When characters are transformed, they become isolated from the human community and that isolation takes the form of speech loss. Without speech, a character is trapped in a state of 'wavering identity' between the non-human and the human. Although most characters perish or remain trapped for the duration of the narrative in this state, some, such as Philomela and Io, are able to escape their ambiguous states by communicating their true identities through the written medium. In Chapter 3, I will trace this motif of speech loss, identity and communication further, analyzing its presence throughout Ovid's exile literature, as he depicts his existence in exile in much the same fashion and attempts to use his poetry as a written medium to reconnect with his lost community and to affect his return.

Chapter III: Speech and Community in Ovid's Exile Literature [284]

Haec, utcumque potui, longo iam situ obsoleto et hebetato animo composui. Quae si aut parum respondere ingenio tuo aut parum mederi dolori uidebuntur, cogita quam non possit is alienae uacare consolationi quem sua mala occupatum tenent, et quam non facile latina ei homini uerba succurrant quem barbarorum inconditus et barbaris quoque humanioribus grauis fremitus circumsonat.[285]

-Seneca the Younger, *De Consolatione ad Polybium* 18.9

Si qua videbuntur chartis tibi, lector, in istis
Sive obscura nimis sive latina parum,
Non meus est error: nocuit librarius illis,
Dum properat versus adnumerare tibi.[286]

-Martial 2.8.1-4

In the previous chapter, I examined the motif of speech loss in the tales of transformation in the *Metamorphoses.* In nearly 20% of all of the stories in Ovid's *magnum opus*, characters who undergo metamorphosis are rendered speechless. When these characters lose their ability to speak, they subsequently are stripped of the ability to indicate their identity through words and, for characters transformed into animals, trees, or inanimate objects, any ancillary means of communication (e.g., gestures, facial expression) become problematic. As a result, these speechless characters are cut off from their communities and, for all save Io and Philomela, this isolated state is permanent.

[284] Special thanks to Stephen Hinds for his comments on an earlier version of this chapter.
[285] These things, as best as I am able, I have composed now in an obscure location, far away, and with a dull mind. If, therefore, they seem beneath the consideration of a person of your intelligence incapable of consoling you in your grief, remember how impossible it is for one who is full of his own sorrows to find time to be concerned with those of others, and how hard it is to express oneself in the Latin language, when all around one hears nothing but a foreign words, which even more civilized barbarians regard with disgust.
[286] If anything can be seen, reader, in these pages, whether it be too obscure or not Latin enough, the error is not mine: the copyist harmed those things while he was hurrying to sell it to you.

In 8 CE, Ovid found himself in a situation similar to those of his characters. As a result of the famous *carmen et error* mentioned at *Tristia* 2.207,[287] Ovid, the 50-year-old poet laureate of Rome at the height of his popularity, was relegated by Emperor Augustus from the center of the Roman world, the city of Rome itself, to the periphery of Roman rule in Tomis (modern-day Constanţa in Romania).[288] As Ovid describes it, almost overnight his identity was transformed from the poet, whose voice had been so prominent in Rome in the form of his numerous successful works, to an exile bereft of his society and stripped of his ability to interact with his poetic circles. Throughout his literature from exile, Ovid focuses his attention on the physical and psychological consequences of his banishment and the negative effects such consequences have on his poetic ability. In what has become known as Ovid's 'pose of decline', Ovid professes that his physical isolation in exile has prohibited him from having the peace of mind,[289] the inspiration,[290] and the technique[291] necessary to write successful poetry. The key aspect in which Ovid grounds all of these complaints is the speech loss that he suffers due to his separation

[287] The scholarship on Ovid's *carmen et error* is immense, but the current *communis opinio* is that the *carmen* refers to the *Ars Amatoria*, as Ovid spends a great deal of time defending this work in *Tristia* 2. For more on this controversial topic, cf. Luisi and Berrino 2008; Luisi and Berrino 2002; Luisi 2001; Nagle 1995, 3; Williams 1994, 179-89; Raaflaub and Sarmons 1990, 430-93; Green 1982; Thibault 1964; Syme 1939, 426 and 432.

[288] On the nature of Ovid's depiction of Tomis in the exile literature, cf. Williams 1994, 3-35.

[289] *T.* 1.1.47-8: *da mihi Maeoniden et tot circumice casus, / ingenium tantis excidet omne malis.* ("Give me Homer and surround him with so many misfortunes, and his entire poetic talent will pass away under such great evils.")

[290] *T.* 3.14.33-4: *Ingenium fregere meum mala, cuius et ante / fons infecundus paruaque uena fuit*. ("Evils have broken my poetic talent, the fount of which beforehand was barren and a small stream.")

[291] *P.* 1.5.15-18: *Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno / me quoque, qui feci, iudice digna lini. / Nec tamen emendo; labor hic quam scribere maior / mensque pati durum sustinet aegra nihil.* ("Since I am relegated, it is shameful to have written because I …. This work is greater than to write and my sick mind can endure nothing difficult.")

from the Latin-speaking world.[292] Stephen Hinds sums this up succinctly, stating: "For Ovid, the exile's alienation on the margins of civilization is manifested, strikingly, in a sense of alienation from his native tongue; and, under pressure from the broader anxieties which pervade Ovid's exile poetry, this comes to define a wholesale crisis of linguistic capacity and intelligibility".[293]

Although in antiquity the topic of exile was not a frequent one,[294] the focus Ovid placed on speech loss in his description of exile found a place in subsequent authors, ranging from antiquity to today, who discussed exile or related topics.[295] Two of the most prominent examples of allusions to Ovidian, exilic speech loss from the Roman world are the two excerpts with which I started this chapter: Seneca the Younger and Martial.[296]

Seneca, writing his *Consolatio ad Polybium* from actual exile on Corsica, recalls an Ovidian emphasis on speech loss in exile at *Tristia* 3.14.27-30, 43-50 and applies such linguistic slippage to his own exilic persona:

> *quod quicumque leget – si quis leget – , aestimet ante,*
> ***compositum*** *quo sit tempore quoque loco.*
> *aequus erit scriptis, quorum cognoverit esse*

[292] For discussions of Ovid's linguistic decline, cf. Williams 1994, 91-99; Stephens 2009; Casali 1997, 92-96; Forbis 1997; de Luce 1993.
[293] Hinds 2011b, 60.
[294] Beyond infrequent, the extant mentions of Ovid's exile in the ancient world are so few and far between that the relative absence of accounts of his exile has led to several scholars casting doubts about the reality of Ovid's exile at all. The only literary references to Ovid's exile are Pliny, *NH* 32.152 (*His adiciemus ab* ***Ovidio*** *posita <a>nim<ali>a, quae apud neminem alium reperiuntur, sed fortassis* ***in Ponto*** *nascentia, ubi id volumen supremis suis temporibus inchoavit*); Statius *Silv.* 1.2.252-55 (*hunc ipse Coo plaudente Philitas / Callimachusque senex Umbroque Propertius antro / ambissent laudare diem,* ***nec tristis in ipsis / Naso Tomis*** *divesque foco lucente Tibullus*); Jerome *Chronicle* 2020.4 (*Ovidius poeta* ***in exilio*** *diem obiit, et juxta oppidum* ***Tomos*** *sepelitur*). In addition to the literary references, Hollis 1996, p. 26 identifies a graffito from Herculaneum referencing Ovid's exile: *CIL* 4.10595 "*morieris* ***Tomi***". For more on Ovidian allusions in graffiti and other Roman art, cf. Knox 2012 and Simon 2007.
[295] Ziolkowski 2005 describes Ovid as the "Ur-Exile" against which subsequent exile literature judged themselves. For the effect Ovid has had on subsequent exile literature, cf. Newlands 2014; Fantham 2013; Ingleheart 2011; Gaertner 2007; Claassen 2008 and 1999.
[296] These two passages are handled in detail in Hinds 2007 and Hinds 2011a.

exilium tempus barbariamque locum

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saepe aliquod quaero verbum nomenque locumque,
nec quisquam est a quo certior esse queam.
dicere saepe aliquid conanti – turpe fateri! –
verba mihi desunt dedidicique loqui.
Threïcio Scythicoque fere ***circumsonor*** *ore,*
et videor Geticis scribere posse modis.
crede mihi, timeo ne Sintia ***mixta Latinis***
inque meis scriptis Pontica ***verba*** *legas.*

And again Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Polybium* 18.9:

Haec, utcumque potui, longo iam situ obsoleto et hebetato animo ***composui****. Quae si aut parum respondere ingenio tuo aut parum mederi dolori uidebuntur, cogita quam non possit is alienae uacare consolationi quem sua mala occupatum tenent,* ***et quam non facile latina ei homini uerba succurrant quem barbarorum inconditus et barbaris quoque humanioribus grauis fremitus circumsonat****.*

Seneca blames his loss of ability to speak fluent and acceptable Latin on his exilic location in the same manner in which Ovid had done in *Tristia* 3.14.[297] Yet, the equation between the two situations should not be pushed too far. For, as Stephen Hinds has noted, Seneca was not in a remote part of the Roman world, but in Corsica, an island just 250 miles from Rome: "Seneca, remember, is in Corsica. Even allowing for the fact that then, as for much of its history, this was an island more resistant than most to the Mediterranean mainstream, the reference to barbarism sounds like overkill".[298] Therefore, instead of presenting a relatively accurate portrayal of his exile, it is more likely that Seneca is responding to the Ovidian invention of the linguistic sufferings of

[297] Degl'Innocenti Pierini 1990, 112-22; Fantham 2007, 190-91.
[298] Hinds 2011a, 62.

exile. Ovid's self-depiction as speechless had become a topos unto itself within the literary context of exile.[299]

Martial, though not in exile as Ovid and Seneca were, acknowledges an Ovidian source in his discussion of his hampered Latin, alluding to Ovid's claim to have lost the ability to produce proficient Latin at *Tristia* 3.1.17-18:

> ***siqua videbuntur casu non dicta Latine***,
> *in qua scribebat, barbara terra fuit.*

And again Martial 2.8.1-4:

> ***Si qua videbuntur*** *chartis tibi, lector, in istis*
> *Sive obscura nimis sive* ***latina*** *parum,*
> *Non* ***meus est error****: nocuit librarius illis,*
> *Dum properat versus adnumerare tibi.*

Whereas Ovid blames his loss of speech on his physical isolation from Latin speakers, Martial blames his copyist and transfers the topos from exilic poetry to 'mundane poetry.'[300] For Martial, the Ovidian allusion need not indicate his own loss of speech in exile, but his avoidance of the heightened diction of higher forms of poetry than his epigram.[301] Moreover, Martial's second couplet contains a second allusion to Ovid, to

[299] cf. Chapter 1 for the opposite claim made by Doblhofer regarding 'Exilkrankheit', a type of universal condition affecting all exiles in all times, one aspect of which was the exile's loss of ability to speak in the mother tongue.

[300] cf. Roman 2001, 124: "In general, Martial adapts motifs formed in the context of 'poetry in exile', and rewritesthem in terms of 'poetry as usual."

[301] Hinds 2011a, 64: "Martial presents himself throughout his career as a low-status writer working in a low-status genre (i.e., epigram): and this gives rise to a distinctive pattern of engagement with the *Tristia*'s peculiar anxieties about the maintenance of poetic quality and prestige in adverse circumstances . . . In other words, some Martialian allusions to the *Tristia* do the job of suggesting that the marginalization of the exiled poet and the debasement of his art offer an apt model for the *literary* marginalization of the low-prestige epigrammatist – who encounters *his* professed disadvantages without even leaving Rome."

the *carmen et error* of *Tristia* 2, an allusion read as a 'footnote' to the *Tristia* allusion in the first couplet:[302] whereas Ovid's Latin was indeed compromised due to his exilic situation, Martial's, as he was safe in Rome, was not.

What the Senecan and Martialian allusions to Ovid's exile literature point to is the fact that, despite the relative paucity of references to Ovid's physical exile, the Ovidian poetics of exile were picked up by subsequent authors of both poetry and prose. In particular, these authors identified Ovid's focus on his loss of speech as one of the seminal aspects of his exile. In this chapter, it is this exilic emphasis on speech loss in Ovid's exile literature that I will examine by treating it as an extension of the motif of speech loss that was shown in Chapter 2 to be prominent in the *Metamorphoses*. My analysis will be divided into three parts. First, I will discuss the narrative sequence Ovid describes in *Tristia* 1 and, in particular, *T.* 1.3, analyzing the manners in which Ovid portrays his transformation from vocal member of the Roman community to an isolated exile suffering from speech loss. Like his characters in the *Metamorphoses,* as Ovid undergoes his transformation, he loses the ability to speak. Second, I will turn to Ovid's description of his resulting speech loss and will examine it through the comparisons Ovid makes between his speech loss and that of characters from the *Metamorphoses,* most notably Philomela. Third, after having examined Ovid's narrative of transformation into a speechless exile and his subsequent existence in silent isolation, I will conclude this chapter with an analysis of how Ovid attempts to reintegrate with his lost Roman community through the same manner that his characters in the *Metamorphoses* did: the

[302] Hinds 2007, 131.

written medium. Ovid set up his *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* as letters written from an absent poet to his friends and family back home and chose to do so because the epistolary genre was seen as one through which an individual could negotiate separation and could communicate with others as if *speaking* with them in person. Thus, Ovid's use of the epistolary genre should be seen as an effort to overcome his loss of speech through the written word. Moreover, the content of his letters, written to members (*sodales*) of his poetic circles, are focused on communicating his identity and on reclaiming his position within the social, spoken world of Roman poets.

Ovid Transformed: Becoming Voiceless in *Tristia* 1

In *Tristia* 1, the first book of the *Tristia* and of the exile literature as a whole, Ovid describes both the exile's journey into physical exile and the exile's metamorphosis from loquacious *vates* to speechless *exul*.[303] The book's focus on such movement both physical and emotional has led it to be named a 'Journey into Exile' by multiple scholars.[304] The book, in accordance with Augustan poetic tradition, did not describe the

[303] As discussed in Chapter 1, the 'Ovid' who is the subject of the exile literature is a persona and should not be equated with the historical Ovid, the real person born in Sulmo in 42 BCE. In an effort to keep these multiple 'Ovid's separate, this chapter will use the following terminology set forth by Claassen 1999: "I shall refer to the creative poet [i.e., the historical author] as '**Ovid**' or '**the poet**', to the implicit letter-writer [i.e., Ovid's exilic persona] as '**the exile**'" (112).

[304] von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1926) first suggested the term: "Ich möchte darauf hinweisen, daß Ovid in den Tristien auf diesem Wege so glücklich fortgeschritten ist, daß sein erstes Buch ganz wohl den Titel '**Reise in die Verbannung**' tragen könnte" (298) ["I would like to point out that Ovid has so fortunately progressed in this way in the *Tristia* that his first book might very well bear the title 'Journey into Exile'"]. Froesch (1976), writing much later, picks up on Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's theme, calling *Tristia* 1 a 'Journey into Exile' as well: "Das erste Tristienbuch enthält u.a. Elegien, die uns Ovids Reise ins Exil miterleben lassen, besser gesagt, un seine '**Reise ins Exil**' verführen" (23) ["The first book of Tristia contains, amongst other things, elegies that allow us to witness Ovid's journey into exile, or rather, show us his 'Journey into Exile'"]. Likewise, Luck (1977): "Die Dichtungen, die [das erstes Tristienbuch] enthält, sind alle während **der Reise ins Exil** geschrieben worden und sind daher thematisch mannigfaltiger, was die Stationen der Reise betrifft" (3) ["The poems that (the first book of *Tristia*) contains have all been

exile's transformational journey in a chronological sequence, but in a more "artful and symmetrical" style.[305] Evans 1983 identified the organization of the book as one that emphasized the theme of the journey through a chiastic series of frames (Figure 2):[306]

written during the journey into exile and are therefore thematically varied in terms of the stages of the journey"]. Cf. Hermann 1924 13-38; Kenney 1965 39ff; Dickinson 1973 161-163; Evans 1983 31-32, 45-49; Claassen 2008 13-15.

[305] Froesch 1976 24: "Diejenigen Stücke des ersten Buches, die als eigentliche 'Reiseelegien' anzusprechen sind, wurden von Ovid nicht chronologisch geordnet, sondern kunstvoller in ein symmetrisches Gefüge gesetzt" ["Those pieces of the first book, which are to be regarded as actual 'travel elegies', were not arranged chronologically by Ovid, but were placed artfully into a symmetrical structure."].

[306] Evans 1983 46. Froesch 1976 suggests the pattern centers on three groups of three poems: 1.2-1.4, 1.5-1.7, and 1.8-1.10. Hermann 1924, in contrast, favors a strict, chiastic arrangement with poem 1.6 as the centerpiece. Dickinson 1973 argues for a similar structure to that of Evans with only minor variation: level 1 on the prologue and epilogue (1.1 and 1.11), level 2 on the storm and journey (1.2-1.4 and 1.10), level 3 on friendship (1.5 and 1.7-1.9), and level 4 on Ovid's wife (1.6). Evans 1983 185n.31, however, misconstrues Dickinson's arrangement as one based on four main themes given equal treatment: 'Prologue and Epilogue', 'Travel and Storm', 'Friendship', and 'the Remainder'. This misconception is most likely due to the confusing nature of Dickinson's explanation on p. 161, which features a diagram and a list of themes, each of which presents an arrangement different than the other's. However, of all these arrangements, Evans' seems to make the most sense. Hermann's scheme pairs poems with extremely divergent themes (e.g., 1.4 and 1.9) and Froesch's places poems with divergent themes into the same groups (e.g., 1.8-1.10 as a group).

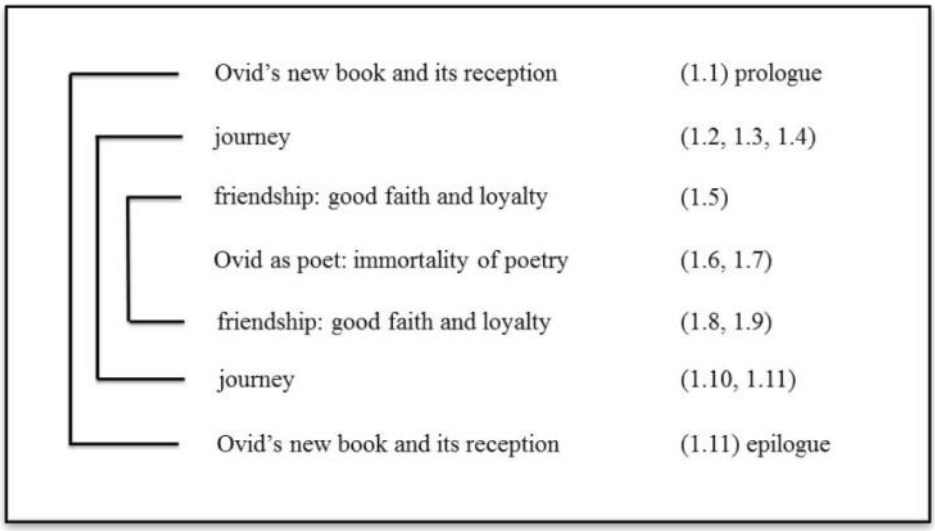

Figure 2: Organization of *Tristia* 1 from Evans 1983

T. 1.1 and 1.11 bookend the collection as a prologue and epilogue focused on the exile's *libellus*; the group of 1.2, 1.3, 1.4 and the pair of 1.10 and 1.11 form the second level of the structure and describe the journey itself; the third level is created by *T.* 1.5 and the pair *T.* 1.8 and 1.9, which deal with the theme of friendship; finally, the innermost level of the book is the pair *T.* 1.6 and 1.7, both of which discuss the immortality of the exile's poetry.

The strength of Evans' arrangement is that it allows the poems narrating the journey to surround the other more topical and epistolographic poems that the exile says were written along the journey (*Tristia* 1.11.1-2: *littera quaecumque est toto tibi lecta libello, / est mihi sollicito tempore facta viae*; "whatever letters have been read by you in the whole *libellus*, have been made by me, vexed, at the time of the storm"). Such an

arrangement creates the visual appearance that these topical and epistolographic poems were indeed composed *in* the course of the journey and *during* the described storms.[307]

More recently, Tola 2008 has reanalyzed the order of the poems in *T.* 1 from a narratological perspective (Figure 3). She too points out that the story of the exile's journey is "far from the narration of a chronological event" (55). Whereas Evans saw the

Sea journey	Sea journey and mention of terrestrial places	Other motifs
Tr. 1.2		*Tr.* 1.1
Tr. 1.4	*Tr.* 1.10	*Tr.* 1.3
Tr. 1.11		*Tr.* 1.5, 6, 7, 8, 9

Figure 3: Organization of *Tristia* 1 from Tola 2008

organization of *T.* 1 as an exercise in ring composition, Tola 2008, taking her starting point from the work of Videau-Delibes 1991[308], sees the organization as a means through which Ovid can portray the discontinuity in his life brought on by exile; as his new life is confused and disjointed, thus is his narrative of it.[309]

[307] For a more detailed discussion of Evans' arrangement of *Tristia* 1, cf. Evans 1983 45-49.
[308] Videau-Delibes 1991 67 notes that continuity in the narration of the exile's journey must be configured by the reader, as it is the reader who must complete any "gaps" or "holes" in the narrative from other poems.
[309] Tola 2008 60: "As well as the journey . . . corporal rupture implied by exile."

It is the series of poems narrating the exile's transformational journey (*T.* 1.2-1.4) that will be the topic of this section. For, in addition to describing the exile's physical movement from Rome to Tomis, these poems also describe how the exile is transformed from *vates* to *exul*. Moreover, the manner in which Ovid chooses to describe the exile's transformation follows the same motif of metamorphosis and speech loss that was identified and explored last chapter. As described in *T.* 1.3, when the day of the exile's relegation arrives, he is removed from his community of family and friends and is forced to leave for Tomis. At the same moment that this removal occurs, the exile also loses his ability to speak. Henceforth, just as with the characters of the *Metamorphoses*, whenever the exile attempts to communicate on his journey in *T.* 1.2 and 1.4, these attempts are thwarted and he finds himself unable to control the same linguistic and poetic *ars* that had marked his identity in the Roman community as *vates* and *lusor tenerorum amorum*. Consequently, as Io and Philomela before him, the exile turns to the written medium to communicate his identity and to tell his narrative of change in exile.

Tristia 1.3: The Metamorphosis of the exile

As we have just established, Ovid arranged the poems of *Tristia* 1 not in a chronological order, but in an artistic, chiastic one aimed at emphasizing the book's major themes of journey, friendship, and poetic immortality. However, if the poems were to be arranged chronologically, the book would necessarily begin with *T.* 1.3, which describes the point of the exile's departure from Rome, followed by *T.* 1.2, 1.4 and 1.10, which portray the exile's nautical, stormy journey to Samothrace, where he paused before

continuing to Tomis.[310] As the chronological starting point of the exile's journey, *T.* 1.3 has extreme importance to our understanding of the whole of the exile literature because, in the words of Claassen 1999, "*Tristia* 1.3 depicts graphically, but selectively, the break between 'present' and 'past'" (174). It portrays 'graphically' the very moment of the exile's metamorphosis from his past state as *vates* to his present one as *exul*.

The poem is set up as the exile's flashback to his last night in Rome in which he recalls in his mind's eye (*imago*) his final, emotional moments with his friends and family:[311]

cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago,
qua mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit,
cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cura reliqui,
labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis
(*Tristia* 1.3.1-4)

Whenever arises the lamentable image of that night, my final time in the city, when I think back to the night on which I left so many things dear to me, there rolls even now from my eyes a tear.

The exile's flashback falls neatly into four temporal frames divided by references to the time of day:[312] after the prologue, given above, there is 1) the evening before his departure (ll. 5-26), 2) the following nighttime hours (ll. 27-46), 3) the early morning hours of the following day (ll. 47-70), and 4) the break of dawn on the exile's day of relegation (ll. 71-100).

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[310] *Tristia* 1.10 is ostensibly written from Samothrace, as it describes the exile's journey from Cenchrae to the Hellespont, and then from there to Imbros and Samothrace (*fleximus in laevum cursus, et ab Hectoris urbe / venimus ad portus, Imbria terra, tuos. / inde, lei vento Zerynthia litora nacta, / Threiciam tetigit fessa carina Samon*, 1.10.15-19). The exile then says that he will be continuing on across Thrace by land, while the ship goes by sea to Pontus (*nam mihi Bistonios placuit pede carpere campos: / Hellespontiacas illa relegit aquas / Dardaniamque petit . . . quaeque tenant Ponti Byzantia litora fauces*, 23-25; 31). Cf. Evans 1983 38-39; Luck 1977 80-81.

[311] Dickinson 1973 163: "*Imago* means 'ghost', as well as 'memory-image'". Dickinson 163-167 goes on to analyze the poem in terms of its 'ghostliness'. For more on these lines, cf. Doblhofer 1987 87-90. In addition, the use of *imago* to describe memory is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

[312] Luck 1977 36: "Der Zeitablauf wird in vier Abschnitte gegliedert" ["The passage of time is divided into four acts"].

Scholarship on *Tristia* 1.3 has historically been focused on the ways in which Ovid depicts the last moments of the exile in Rome with special regard to the generic coloring of those depictions. Some scholars closely align the poem with the tragic genre due to the highly dramatic nature of the poem.[313] Froesch 1976 compares the description of the exile's departure from Rome to Euripides' portrayal of the flight of Hippolytos, banned by Theseus, and the reaction of the exile's friends and wife to that of the Euripidean chorus.[314] Luck 1977 focuses on the tragic roles played by each character in the poem and provides the most succinct example of this scholarly trend, describing the poem thus:

> Die Elegie . . . ist einem Drama vergleichbar mit Ovid als Protagonisten; seine Frau spielt die zweite Rolle; Freunde und Gesinde bilden den tragischen Chor, der mit seinen Klagerufen das Geschehen begleitet (36).[315]

Likewise, the poem's elegiac affinities have also been noted. Poteat 1912 identified that similarities in literary devices linked *T.* 1.3 to Ovid's earlier elegiac corpus, particularly the use of pointed anaphora in consecutive clauses.[316] Rahn 1958 read the theme of departure in the poem as within a larger elegiac *topos* of 'Darstellungen des Abschieds'.[317] Mack 1988 connects the role of the exile's wife with the traditional

[313] In addition to Froesch and Luck, cf. Bonvicini 1991 231; Della Corte 1973 218; Doblhofer 1987 86: "Die Elegie trist. 1,3 [ist] Abbild eines Dramas mit Ovid als Protagonisten, seiner Frau als Deuteragonistin und den Frunden als Chor, so könnte man in den fünf Abschnitten die klassischen fünf Akte wiederfinden" ["The elegy [is] the image of a drama with Ovid as protagonist, his wife as supporting actor, and his friends as a choir; in such a way, one could find the classic five acts in the five sections"]; and Posch 1983 124-125 n.281

[314] Froesch 1976 26-27 and Eur. *Hipp*. 1091ff. and 1143ff. Cf. also Schnayder 1958 41.

[315] "The elegy . . . is clearly a drama with Ovid as protagonist; his wife plays the supporting role; his friends and servants make up the tragic chorus, which accompanies the dramatic action with its complaints."

[316] Poteat 1912 25ff.

[317] Rahn 1958 110ff., esp. 112-113.

depictions of loyal elegiac mistresses in elegy (e.g., the depiction of Delia mourning the departure of Tibullus in Tib 1.3).[318]

Moreover, scholars have also commented on the similaries between the poem and epic. Harrison 2002 sees the analogies between the descriptions of the voyage in *T.* 1.2-1.4 as an explicit comparison to the voyages of Odysseus and Aeneas in the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*.[319] Huskey too has commented upon the close relationship between the description of the exile's departure in *T.* 1.3 and that of Aeneas' departure from Troy at the end of *Aeneid* 2 with particular attention paid to the concept of exile and the loss of the wife.[320]

Such 'blending' of different genres into one narrative is typical of Ovid's work in general (e.g., the *Metamorphoses*) and speaks to the difficulties inherent in creating black-and-white pictures of genre and form that characterized the scholarship of the mid-20th century. By bringing elements of drama and epic into the elegiac medium, Ovid is able to create a more holistic narrative that allows him freedom to emphasize or downplay certain generic elements. However, this discussion of *T.* 1.3 will focus not on its generic affinities, but on the ways in which it describes the metamorphosis of the exile as one involving the loss of speech and community. Throughout the poem, Ovid employs multiple allusions to characters from the *Metamorphoses* who undergo transformations and, subsequently, lose their ability to speak, such as Dryope, Actæon, Callisto, and

[318] Mack 1988 43: "Ovid's wife is his real wife who stayed behind in Rome at her husband's insistence even though she wanted to join him in exile; she is also Penelope of epic and the beloved mistress of elegy". However, there is current debate over the historicity of the exile's wife. Cf. Petersen 2005, Reeber 2014 for more on the literary construction of the exile's wife.
[319] Harrison 2002 90ff.
[320] Huskey 2002 88-91.

Philomela. These allusions are scattered throughout the poem and help to depict a progressive deterioration in the exile's ability to speak and connect with his loved ones. Therefore, our analysis will proceed through *T.* 1.3 in narrative order, and will break the poem into its four narrative 'acts'. In each of these acts, we will discuss the descriptions of the exile's metamorphosis and how the portrayal of the exile in each act builds upon itself, leading to the climax of the poem: the exile's loss of speech and subsequent removal from community.

Act I: The Evening before Exile (ll. 5-26)

iam prope lux aderat, qua me discedere Caesar
finibus extremae iusserat Ausoniae.
nec spatium nec mens fuerat satis apta parandi:
torpuerant longa pectora nostra mora.
non mihi seruorum, comitis non cura legendi,
non aptae profugo uestis opisue fuit.
non aliter stupui, quam qui Iouis ignibus ictus
uiuit et est uitae nescius ipse suae.
ut tamen hanc animi nubem dolor ipse remouit,
et tandem sensus conualuere mei,
***alloquor** extremum maestos **abiturus amicos**,*
qui modo de multis unus et alter erat.
***uxor** amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat,*
imbre per indignas usque cadente genas.
***nata** procul Libycis aberat diuersa sub oris,*
nec poterat fati certior esse mei.
quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant,
formaque non taciti funeris intus erat.
***femina uirque meo**, pueri quoque funere maerent,*
inque domo lacrimas angulus omnis habet.
si licet exemplis in paruis grandibus uti,
haec facies Troiae, cum caperetur, erat.

The first narrative section - or dramatic Act - of *Tristia* 1.3 begins after a short four line prologue that describes the exile's reaction when he calls to mind the events described in the poem. This portion of the exile narrative (or *Abschiedsbericht*) describes the "reaction of Ovid, his family and friends, to the sentence of exile"; these reactions are presented in a type of "outward looking" progression, proceeding sequentially from a focus on Ovid, to his friends and family, to the extended household, and finally to the level of the city as a whole (Dickinson 164). The focus of my analysis grounds the whole poem thematically in the concepts of speech loss, community, and identity. First, in this section Ovid depicts the exile as a speaking individual whose vocal abilities are contrasted with inarticulate speech around him. Secondly, as he is able to communicate, the exile is shown as a member of a community that surrounds him. Yet, the third point made in this section is the fleeting nature of the exile's communicative ability and communal identity; for the exile's very ability to speak and his experience in his community highlight the beginnings of a slippage in his communication and a breakdown in identity that foreshadow the exilic speech loss and isolation that will face him at the end of the poem.

The section's - and indeed the entire poem's - emphasis on speech is brought to the audience's attention not at the beginning of the section, but towards the middle with the use of the term *adloqui* to describe the exile (15). The exile's first act of the dramatic narrative is to speak to the friends who had come to grieve the exile's impending departure. As first noted by Posch (1983), the verb *adloqui* is the first verb in the section that is placed in the present tense, a fact that gives it added significance in the poem as

the poem's first real narrative 'act' (132).[321] Posch goes on to interpret the tense of *adloqui* as an indication of Ovid's psychological engagement (*seelisches Engagement*) in the poem, and this may be true, despite the difficulty of reaching the feelings of 'Ovid' through the actions of the exile.[322] It is not difficult, however, to conclude that the use of a verb of speech as the first present, narrative act in the poem sets up the theme of speech as central to the poem's meaning.

The emphasis on the exile's verbal ability is again highlighted a few lines later in the juxtaposition of the exile's articulate speech and the inarticulate wailings of the others in the exile's house. After the exile is described as speaking with his friends (*adloquor . . . amicos,* 15), the tenor of the scene shifts to one of gloom and sadness as the exile's wife weeps quite bitterly (17) and every corner of the house is engulfed in tears (*inque . . . habet,* 24). The sounds that the mourning of these individuals make is summed up in the couplet:

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[321] Posch 132: "Auf die Präsensformen des Prologs (*subit, repeto, labitur*) folgen im Bericht Formen des Präteritums: zunächst das Imperfekt (*aderat* 5), dann für den Bericht der vorausliegenden Ereignisse das Plusquamperfekt (*iusserat* 6, *fuerat* 7, *torpuerant* 8), hierauf folgen Perfektformen (*fuit* 10, *stupui* 11, *removit* 13, *convaluere* 14), und schließlich fällt der Dichter mit dem Lebhafterwerden der Schilderung ins Präsens (*adloquor* 15, fast genau in der Mitte des Teiles), worauf dann bis zum Schluß dieser Schilderung das Imperfekt herrscht" ["After the present tense of the prologue the account follow forms of the past tense: : first, the imperfect, then for the report of preceding events the pluperfect, hereupon follow perfect forms, and finally the poet falls with the actions of the description into the present (almost exactly in the middle of the piece), after which there is the imperfect until the end of this description"]. cf. also Luck *ad* 1.3.5f.: "Die Tempusfolge ist bedeutsam" ["The tense is important"]. In addition, for more on the role of time in Ovid's narrative, cf. von Albrecht 1968 451-467.

[322] Posch 134: "mit dem Spitzenstellung stehenden Präsens *adloquor* (15) setzt die eigenliche Schilderung des Abschieds unüberhörbar ein. Schon in dieser Präsensform manifestiert sich Ovids seelisches Engagement, erscheint doch das praesens historicum bei lebhafter Vergegenwärtigung vergangener Ereignisse" ["at the climax the present *adloquor* (15) represents the detailed description of an unmistakable farewell. Even in this present tense Ovid's emotional commitment is manifested, but the historical present appears in animated visualization of past events"].

quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant, formaque non taciti funeris intus erat. (*T.* 1.3.21-22)	Wherever you looked, lamentations and groans were ringing out, and the situation inside resembled an unquiet funeral.

As was shown in last chapter's discussion of the Echo narrative from the *Metamorphoses*, the verb *sonare* refers to inarticulate sounds and is frequently juxtaposed with verbs of articulate speech (*vocare, loqui*) in Ovid's poetry. Here, the juxtaposition is with the exile's speech to his friends, and it serves two purposes. First, and obviously, the verb helps set the backgroud of the emotion and pain felt by those present on the last night of the exile's time in Rome, a background imbued with a high frequency of emotional words typical in descriptions of funerals (*luctus, gemitus, funeris, funere maerent, lacrimas*).[323] Second, and more important for our purposes, the juxtaposition serves to highlight the fact that the exile starts the poem with the ability to speak articulately and he is largely set off from all others in this section as the only individual capable of speaking, despite his impending exile.

In addition to the exile's ability to communicate, this section of *Tristia* 1.3 also highlights his memberhsip in a community. As already mentioned, one of the main points of this section is the effect of the news of the exile's *relegatio* on his family and friends. Throughout the section, the audience sees the community of the exile surrounding him, particularly in lines 15-24. The exile's friends (*maestos . . . amicos*), wife (*uxor*), household staff and - possibly - clients (*femina virque . . . pueri*) are all present in the scene and interact with the exile, as he speaks to his friends and weeps with

[323] Dickinson 164.

his wife. The only member of his family not present is his daughter, but even she is mentioned here (19-20). In short, this opening scene depicts the exile, an individual with the ability to speak articulately, immersed in and interacting with his community.

Yet the exile's linguistic ability and his communal identity are not as secure as their overt depiction in this section may make them out to be; for one can see, even this early in the poem, the linguistic slippage and the destabilization of identity that will come to mark the exile by the poem's end. First, let us return to the line with which I began this section: *adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos*. Earlier, these lines were read as evidence for the importance of speech to *Tristia* 1.3 and for the exile's ability to produce such speech. These two aspects still remain vital; however, there is more to the picture. As noted by Luck 1977, although the exile speaks to his friends, there is no reply to him (38).[324] Such one-way communication forshadows the eventual inefficacy of the exile's voice: he may speak, but such speaking is not successful in procuring communication in return. The exile is, in a sense, speaking in isolation within what Fugier 1976 called a "zone de silence".[325] This motif, which I will discuss more fully in the final portion of this chapter, is emblematic of Ovid's exile literature as a whole: attempts at communication by the exile, albeit it in epistolary form, to which there is never an actual reply. The only replies mentioned are those the exile himself states he received.[326] In terms of *T.* 1.3, however, the lack of response to the exile's speech serves to undermine the exile's linguistic ability and to foreshadow his loss of speech at the end of the poem.

[324] Luck 1977 *ad* 1.3.15f. "Da er die Freunde anspricht, nicht die Freunde ihn" ["Here he speaks to his friends, but his friends don't speak to him"].
[325] Fugier 1976 analyzes the distribution of personal pronouns to show the fact that the exile is writing in isolation, writing to inidivuals who never reply and leave the exile speaking to himself.
[326] *T.* 4.7; 5.7, 5.11, 5.12, 5.13; *P.* 4.9

In addition to the destabilization of the exile's linguistic ability, this section of the poem also foreshadows the eventual metamorphosis of the exile, his entrance into a state of wavering identity, and his removal from community. This process can most clearly be seen in the exile's description of his 'stupefaction' at the hands of Augustus. In lines 11-16, the exile relates how he was struck dumb like those struck by the thunderbolt of Jove and was covered in a cloud of grief. In addition to a direct reference to Augustus' edict of exile through the traditional connection between Augustus and Jupiter, these lines also depict the beginning of the exile's journey into a state of wavering identity.[327] Doblhofer 1987 presents the clearest articulation of this transition:

This ego-splitting is a process and a condition which already greatly attracted the poet of the 'Metamorphoses', in the stories of which the process is rooted, and H. Frankel opened our eyes to this fact in his famous book on Ovid; Ovid only now painfully experiences it for himself. Even this painful predicament of the loss of his own poetic and human identity is a leitmotif of complaint poetry; for the similarly exiled Ovid it went so far that he sought, already in the first poem from exile (*Tristia* 1.1.117-122), to understand his banishment as a metamorphosis and to classify his range of experiences in this way. Here in the 'Farewell to Rome', the idea of splitting of the ego into a 'living' one and a 'dead' one [i.e., 1.3.11-16] returns at the end of the poem in the description of the last departure from his house by the exiled poet: (v. 89) *egredior, sive illud erat sine funere ferri,* (91-92).[328]

Doblhofer's focus on the splitting of the exile's persona and the exile's subsequent entrance into Fränkel's 'wavering identity' is hinted at in line 12: *vivit et est vitae nescius ipse suae*. After being relegated, the exile is stunned and has an out-of-

[327] Fantham 2013 132ff.

[328] Diese Ich-Spaltung ist ein Vorgang und ein Zustand, der schon den Dichter der 'Metamorphosen', in deren Wegen er begründet liegt, aufs stärkste angezogen und für den uns H. Fränkel in seinem bekannten Ovidbuch die Augen geöffnet hat; Ovid erfährt sie nur leidvoll an sich selber. Auch dieses schmerzliche Rätseln über den Verlust der eigenen poetischen und menschlichen Identität ist ein Leitmotiv der Klagedichtung; es ging bei idem verbannten Ovid so weit, daß er schon im ersten Gedicht aus dem Exil, *trist.* 1,1,117-122, seine Verbannung als seine Metamorphose zu begreifen und auf diese Weise in seinen Erfahrungshorizont einzuordnen suchte. Hier im 'Abschied von Rom' kehrt der Gedanke der Spaltung des eigenen Ich in ein lebendes und ein totes gegen Ende wieder in der Schilderung des endlichen Verlassens seines Hauses durch den verbannten Dichter, (v. 89*) egredior, sive illud erat sine funere ferri*.

body experience, not sure of his own identity, but still in existence. Moreover, as Tola 2008 points out, in *T.* 1.3, the exile makes constant reference to his dismemberment (Cf. the *exemplum* of Mettus at 1.3.73-74), describing his body in its constituent parts strewn through the entirety of the narrative (*oculis* 4, 60; *membra* 64, 73, 94; *pectora* 8, 66, 78; *ore* 44; *ora* 90; *manus* 78, 88; *genas* 18; *pes* 56; *umeris* 79).[329] Such a split in identity is remarkably similar to the experiences of characters in the *Metamorphoses* who undergo psychological trauma and, unsure of their identity, are rendered speechless.[330] Although each of these characters regains speech, each is also eventually transformed into a non-human entity and, subsequently, loses the ability to speak for a second time.

Like these characters, the exile too regains his speech and his eventual transformation is foreshadowed by the use of *abiturus* to describe him. When the exile recovers from his momentary 'Ich-Spaltung', he immediately regains the ability to speak and communicates with his friends (*adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos*). The term *abiturus* is traditionally translated as a reference to the exile's impending physical departure to Tomis; however, the term has at least two other meanings that have a great bearing on this poem. First, *abiturus* is often used to refer to dying in the same fashion as modern English describes death as a 'passing away'.[331] This aspect of *abiturus* meshes well with the overarching motif of 'exile as death' throughout the exile literature. When the exile physically leaves his home, he undergoes a type of social death. As mentioned in Doblhofer's above quote, *Tristia* 1.3 itself ends with a scene of the exile being borne

[329] Tola 2008 59-60.
[330] Cf. Io, Actæon, Callisto.
[331] *OLD ad loc.* cf. Plaut. *Cas*. prol. 19; Ter. *Phorm.* 5.9.30; Cic. *Tusc*. 1.30.74.

out of his house like a corpse in a funeral. Secondly, and more germane to the idea of metamorphosis, the term *abiturus* is used multiple times in the *Metamorphoses* to describe a character's transformation.[332] As such, the use of the term to describe the exile 1) places him in the same position as characters from the *Metamorphoses* who, having undergone an identity crisis, are transformed into non-human entities and 2) foreshadows his eventual transformation and loss of communal identity.

The underlying associations of the term *abiturus* and the exile's lack of communicative connection with his friends thus undermine the seemingly positive picture of the exile in this first section and foreshadow his ultimate linguistic and communal downfall. Although the exile is surrounded by his community and has the ability to speak with that community, Ovid identifies underlying complications that foreshadow the exile's eventual metamorphosis.

Act Two: The Dead of Night (26-46)

iamque quiescebant uoces hominumque canumque
Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos.
hanc ego suspiciens et ad hanc Capitolia cernens,
quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari,
'numina uicinis habitantia sedibus,' inquam,
'iamque oculis numquam templa uidenda meis,
dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini,
este salutati tempus in omne mihi.
et quamquam sero clipeum post uulnera sumo,
attamen hanc odiis exonerate fugam,
caelestique uiro, quis me deceperit error,
dicite, pro culpa ne scelus esse putet.
ut quod uos scitis, poenae quoque sentiat auctor:
placato possum non miser esse deo.'

[332] *M.* 1.236; 2.674

hac prece adoraui superos ego, pluribus uxor,
singultu medios impediente sonos.
illa etiam ante Lares passis adstrata capillis
contigit extinctos ore tremente focos,
multaque in auersos effudit uerba Penates
pro deplorato non ualitura uiro.

After the loud wailings and groans of the first 'act' of *Tristia* 1.3, the scene shifts to a new location and tenor in the second. The second 'act' no longer takes place inside the exile's noisy house, but outside of it, as the exile looks over the quiet city of Rome and makes his last plea to the gods for pardon from his relegation. Yet, although the scene of the narrative action has shifted, Ovid continues to foreshadow the eventual loss of speech, identity, and community for the exile. First, the exile's prayer, his attempt at verbal communication with the gods, fails to receive a reply from them; moreover, the content and description of the prayer point to the beginning of the exile's linguistic slippage. Likewise, the linguistic slippage of the exile also can be seen in the description of his wife's prayer. Second, in addition to his loss of speech, the exile's impending loss of communal identity is foreshadowed through the consistent allusions to the *Aeneid* and the comparisons drawn between the exile and Aeneas: whereas Aeneas, although forced to leave his native Troy, was allowed to preserve his communal identity through the transport of his friends, family, and household gods, the exile is stripped of his place in society through his inability to bring any of them with him.

Turning first to Ovid's foreshadowing of the exile's loss of speech, I begin with the exile's prayer. Three aspects of the prayer call attention to the exile's eventual loss of speech: 1) the very presence of the prayer, 2) an allusion made by Ovid in the exile's

prayer to the story of Actæon from the *Metamorphoses*, and 3) the description of the prayer as a *sonus* at its conclusion.

Although it is indeed a prevalent topos in Latin literature for those in trouble to turn to the gods for assistance, one of the narrative situations in which this topos is employed within the Ovidian corpus is the tale of speech loss. Throughout the *Metamorphoses*, transformed characters are routinely depicted as appealing to the gods for rescue from their situations.[333] However, because of their compromised verbal abilities, their prayers are unsuccessful and they either remain transformed or undergo a transformation. The tales of Actæon, Callisto and Io all feature the main character's failed attempts at communication. Because they have been transformed into animals and are unable to speak in a human voice, all fail to communicate through prayer and all remain in their animal forms. A similar situation can be identified in the Philomela narrative, in which Ovid employs failed prayer to emphasize her isolation from community and civilization as well as her impending isolation through speech loss.[334]

Against this background, the exile's prayer to the gods for help and Ovid's remark that the prayers of the exile and the exile's wife were ineffective (*non valitura*) place the exile in the position of these transformed characters. Moreover, the exile includes an allusion to Io's successful prayer through his statement that he hopes the gods will speak to Augustus and help him feel (*sentiat*) that the exile did not anger him through willful wickedness but through innocent error:

[333] Cf. Io (*M.* 1.635-7, 731-733); Callisto (*M.* 2.485-488); Actæon to his dogs/comrades (*M.* 3.240-1); Philomela (*M.* 6.521-26).
[334] *M.* 6.525-6: *vi superat frusta clamato saepe parente / saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia divis*.

caelestique uiro, quis me deceperit error, dicite, pro culpa ne scelus esse putet. ut quod uos scitis, poenae quoque **sentiat** auctor: *Tristia* 1.3.37-39	And tell to that heavenly man what error deceived me lest he think wickedness be the same as fault; so that the fact that you know, the author of this penalty may also feel:

Whereas the focus of the exile is here clearly on the fact that Augustus not misconstrue fault for wickedness,[335] Ovid's allusion to a prayer of a verbally compromised individual that was actually successful highlights the importance of speech loss and sets up a juxtaposition with the exile's metamorphosis and eventual loss of speech.

In addition to Ovid's use of the topos of prayer from the *Metamorphoses*, he also creates a specific allusion within the exile's prayer that further equates the exile with a character who underwent metamorphosis and speech loss, the first of four such allusions in *Tristia* 1.3 (for the other allusions, see discussion of 1.3.47-68 below). In the prayer, the exile makes mention of the *error* that led to his relegation. He prays that the gods on the Quirinal tell Augustus (*caelestique viro*, 37) that the fault he ascribed to the exile was only an *error* and not a *scelus*. This vocabulary creates an allusion to the Actæon story *Metamorphoses* 3, an allusion that Ovid develops more fully in *Tristia* 2.[336] In the Actæon narrative, one of the key concepts with which Ovid presents his audience is that of blame: was Actæon's punishment by Diana deserved and due to a *scelus* or was it an

[335] cf. *T.* 2.207ff.

[336] *T.* 2.103-110: *Cur aliquid uidi? Cur noxia lumina feci? / Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi? /* ***Inscius Actaeon*** *uidit sine ueste Dianam: / praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis. / Scilicet in superis etiam fortuna luenda est, / nec ueniam laeso numine casus habet. / Illa nostra die, qua me malus abstulit* ***error****, / parua quidem periit, sed sine labe domus.*

The connection between Ovid's depiction of the exile and the tale of Actæon has been long noted, cf. Inglehart 2010 124-131; McGowan 2009 195-197; Rosiello 2002 446-52; Goold 1983 100; Drucker 1977 149; Owen 1924 *ad loc*. Pohlenz 1913 even went as far as to suggest that Ovid wrote the Actæon tale from the *Metamorphoses* in exile because of the allusions of the tale in *Tristia* 2: "Ovid hat III 141-142 erst nach der Verbannung eingefügt, weil ihn sein eigenes Vergehen an Actaeon erinnert hatte" (11).

For the myth in the *Metamorphoses*, cf. Chapter 2, as well as: Galinsky 1975 66-7, 102-3; Otis 1970 128-137; Edmonds 1941 196-97; Pohlenz 1913 10-13.

unfortunate consequence of his *error*?[337] The particular terms used in the *Metamorphoses* to illustrate the concept are the same terms used in the *Tristia*:

at bene si quaeras, Fortunae crimen in illo, non **scelus** invenies; quod enim **scelus error** habebat? *M.* 3.141-142	But if you inquire, you will find a crime of Fortune in the act, not wickedness; for what kind of wickedness does a mistake have?

caelestique uiro, quis me deceperit **error**, dicite, pro culpa ne **scelus** esse putet. *T.* 1.3.37-38	And tell to that heavenly man what error deceived me lest he think wickedness be the same as fault;

Through such an allusion, Ovid places the exile in an identical position to that of Actæon and foreshadows what will become of the exile. Both have angered a god through an innocent mistake and both will be punished with metamorphosis, speech loss, and social (in Actæon's case, literal) death.

The final portion of this section that foreshadows the exile's speech loss is the mention of *sonus* in the couplet immediately following the exile's prayer:

hac prece adoraui superos ego, pluribus uxor, singultu medios impediente **sonos**. *T.* 1.3.41-42	With this prayer I begged the gods, with many more my wife begged too; all the while sobs were choking our half-spoken words. (Trans.: modified Green)

This simple couplet, though easy to translate, leaves ambiguous the subjects of the actions in the second line because of the ablative absolute. Despite this, translators have typically written the exile's wife as the subject who produces the half-spoken words:

[337] *M.* 3.253-255: *Rumor in ambiguo est; aliis violentior aequo / visa dea est, alii laudant dignamque severa / virginitate vocant: pars invenit utraque causas*.

Luck 1977: Schluchzen unterbrach **sie** mitten in Sprechen.

Mazzanti 1991: Con questi preghiera supplicai i celesti con molte più alter la sposa, fra I singhiozzi che **le** troncavano a mezzo le parole.

Melville 1992 I made that prayer to gods above; my wife made more, but **her** sobs cut short the words she said.

Green 1994: Such my prayer to the powers above**; my wife's** were countless, sobs choked each half-spoken word.

Kline 2003: I spoke to the gods in prayer like this, my wife more so, sobs choking **her** half-heard cries.

At the same time, however, other scholars have noticed the emphasis placed on the connection and harmony between the exile and his wife in this portion of 1.3.[338] Therefore, I suggest that the ablative absolute typically ascribed to the wife alone be restored to its ambiguous nature and allowed to describe both the wife and the exile.[339] Doing so makes for better poetic organization. First, the ablative absolute portion of the couplet is made to reply to the whole of the first line and not to half of it, an organization that adds balance to the couplet and is further amplified by the synchetic word order. Secondly, it allows the subsequent couplet (*illa etiam ante Lares passis adstrata capillis / contigit extinctos ore tremente focos*, 43-44) to focus exclusively on the wife, an act that creates a parallelism between the exile's first appearance in the section and reflection on the Lares (*hanc ego suspiciens et ad hanc Capitolia cernens, / quae nostro frustra iuncta*

[338] Bonvicini 1991 *ad loc*.: "I due eroi si muovono sulla scena in sintonia" ["The two heroes move in harmony on the stage"]; Della Corte 1972, trans. of *T.* 1.3.41-42: "Con questa preghiera invocai gli dèi del Cielo: e ancora di più mentre i singhiozzi troncavano a mezzo le voci. Pregava la mia consorte . . ." ["With this prayer, I called upon the gods of heaven: and even more while sobs broke half-spoken words. My wife prayed . . ."].

[339] cf. the debate over Ver. *A.* 4.449: *mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.* Are these Aeneas' tears or Dido's? The ambiguous nature of the line allows for the tears to come from both, heightening the *pathos* of the scene. For more on this line, as well as for more interpretations of the tears, see Martindale 2004; Hudson-Williams 1978 16-23; Knight 1944, 205ff.

fuere Lari, 29-30) and the wife's appearance and prostration before the Lares. Finally, such an organization creates a picture of harmony and shared action consistent with the rest of the poem (e.g., *uxor amans* ***flentem flens*** *acrius ipsa tenebat*, 1.3.17).

This reorganization is apropos to our discussion of speech loss because, if the ablative absolute refers to both the exile and his wife, then the words spoken by the exile are described as *soni*, a term emphasizing their inarticulate nature and their ineffectiveness to produce human communication. Such a concept of ineffective communication is furthered four lines later, as the speech the wife produces is described as *verba non valitura* (45-46). Both of these instances again bring to the audience's attention a type of linguistic slippage that foreshadows the exile's ultimate metamorphosis marked by his loss of speech. Now, instead of being set apart from the other *soni* in the house as an individual capable of articulate speech, as he was described in the first section of the poem, the exile is now portrayed as an individual whose voice is so affected by his situation that he can only produce *sonos*. His linguistic slippage has begun.

In addition to the references made to the exile's impending loss of speech, this section also continues the theme of communal identity from the opening 'act'. In the first 'act', the exile is depicted as part of a community, but, although the exile's interaction with his community marked him as a member of it on the surface, the lack of response from them foreshadowed his ultimate removal from community. In this section, the exile's removal from community is again alluded to, though more overtly and forcefully,

through repeated allusions to the *Aeneid* and comparisons drawn between Aeneas and the exile.

The major lines of comparison drawn between the two revolve around community: although both men are forced to leave their native city, only Aeneas is successful in retaining his social identity. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas famously leaves Troy with his family, domestic staff, and household gods:

dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis
auditur, propiusque aestus incendia uoluunt.
'ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae;
ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste grauabit;
quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
una salus ambobus erit. mihi paruus Iulus
sit comes, et longe seruet uestigia coniunx.
uos, famuli, quae dicam animis aduertite uestris.
est urbe egressis tumulus templumque uetustum
desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus
religione patrum multos seruata per annos;
hanc ex diuerso sedem ueniemus in unam.
tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis;
me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti
attrectare nefas, donec me flumine uiuo
abluero.'
(*A.* 2.705-720)

He had spoken, and now a clearer fire is heard through the city, and the blaze rolls its heat nearer. "Come then, dear father, clasp my neck: I myself will carry you on my shoulders and that task will not be burdensome to me. Whatever may happen, the same shared risk, the same salvation will be ours together. Let little Julus come with me, and let my wife follow our footsteps at a distance. You servants, heed with your whole hearts the things that I'm saying. At the entrance to the city there's a mound, an ancient temple of forsaken Ceres, and nearby an ancient cypress, protected through the years by the reverence of our fathers: we shall come to that one place by diverse paths. You, father, take in your hand the sacred objects and our country's Penates; until I have washed in running water, it is a sin for me, coming from such fighting and recent slaughter, to touch them."

feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.
(*A.* 3.11-12)

I am borne, an exile, onto the deep with my comrades, son, Penates and great gods.

Like Aeneas, the exile is surrounded by his wife, child, household staff, and gods, but is forced to leave them behind:

'numina uicinis habitantia sedibus,' inquam, 'iamque oculis numquam templa uidenda meis, dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini, este salutati tempus in omne mihi. (*T.* 1.3.31-34)	I said: "Powers that live in nearby abodes, and temples never to be seen again by my eyes, gods I must relinquish, whom the high city of Quirinus holds, be propitious to me for all time."
multaque in auersos effudit uerba Penates pro deplorato non ualitura uiro. (*T.* 1.3.45-46)	Many words she poured to the spiteful Penates, words of no avail for her lamented husband.

Samuel Huskey, in his article chronicling the consistent allusions to the *Aeneid* throughout *Tristia* 1.3, encapsulates the ramification of such Ovidian allusions perfectly:

> Aeneas leaves Troy as it is dying, but by bringing his friends, family, and household gods with him, **he preserves a vital kernel of his city**. Ovid [i.e., the exile], however, says farewell forever to the gods, temples, and the city itself. Unlike Aeneas, Ovid [i.e., the exile] does not have to preserve any remnants of his civilization, since Rome, its buildings, and its gods will remain intact without him. Indeed**, he does not bring any part of his civilization with him to Tomis** (emphasis mine).[340]

Therefore, the foreshadowing of the exile's loss of speech and removal of communal identity that began with oblique references to the exile's lack of communication with his friends and his momentary identity crisis in the first section is now extended into the second in more overt terms. The failure of the exile's prayer is highlighted to emphasize the beginning of his linguistic slippage; the references to the Actæon myth draw a stark equation between the exile and Actæon as individuals who undergo metamorphic speech loss at the hands of a vengeful deity; and the allusions to the *Aeneid* provide a clear contrast between Aeneas, who maintains his communal identity, and the exile, who does not. This general movement toward more overt

[340] Huskey 2002 96.

indications of the exile's linguistic slippage and loss of communal identity continues in the following section, in which Ovid draws even closer parallels between the exile and characters from the *Metamorphoses* who suffered metamorphic speech loss.

Act III: Before the Dawn of Exile (ll. 47-76)

iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat,
uersaque ab axe suo Parrhasis Arctos erat.
quid facerem? *blando patriae retinebar amore,*
ultima sed iussae nox erat illa fugae.
a! quotiens *aliquo dixi properante 'quid urges?*
uel quo festinas ire, uel unde, uide.'
a! quotiens *certam me sum mentitus habere*
horam, propositae quae foret apta uiae.
ter limen tetigi, ter sum reuocatus, et ipse
indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat.
saepe 'uale' dicto rursus sum multa locutus,
et quasi discedens oscula summa dedi.
saepe eadem mandata dedi meque ipse fefelli,
respiciens oculis pignora cara meis.
denique 'quid propero? Scythia est, quo mittimur', inquam,
'Roma relinquenda est, utraque iusta mora.
uxor in aeternum uiuo mihi uiua negatur,
et domus et fidae dulcia membra domus,
quosque ego dilexi fraterno more sodales,
o mihi Thesea pectora iuncta fide!
dum licet, amplectar: numquam fortasse licebit
amplius; in lucro est quae datur hora mihi.'
nec mora sermonis uerba inperfecta relinquo,
complectens animo proxima quaeque meo.
dum loquor et flemus, caelo nitidissimus alto,
stella grauis nobis, Lucifer ortus erat.
diuidor haud aliter, quam si mea membra relinquam,
et pars abrumpi corpore uisa suo est.
sic doluit Mettus tum cum in contraria uersos
ultores habuit proditionis equos.

The third 'act' of *T.* 1.3 continues the themes of the earlier two sections: the exile's loss of speech and removal from his community. Throughout the narrative section, Ovid makes multiple allusions to various characters from the *Metamorphoses* and compares them to the exile in order to foreshadow the impending metamorphic speech loss for the exile. In terms of speech loss and loss of community, three characters in particular are highlighted: Callisto, Philomela, and Dryope. As we saw in Chapter 2, all three of these characters share the unfortunate distinction of having suffered metamorphic speech loss. For Callisto and Dryope, speech loss occurred simultaneously with their physical metamorphosis into a bear and a poplar tree, respectively. Philomela underwent a more symbolic, but no less brutal, metamorphic speech loss resulting from the excision of her tongue from her mouth.

Let us first turn our attention to the presence of the Callisto myth in the narrative. The myth is alluded to twice in the first eight lines of the narrative, with both instances serving to create a mythic background that foreshadows the exile's metamorphic speech loss:

iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat,
uersaque ab axe suo **Parrhasis Arctos** erat.
quid facerem? blando patriae retinebar amore,
ultima sed iussae nox erat illa fugae.
a! quotiens aliquo dixi properante 'quid urges?
uel quo festinas ire, uel unde, uide.'
a! quotiens certam me sum mentitus habere
horam, propositae quae foret apta uiae.
(*Tristia* 1.3.47-54)

And now the falling night began to deny time for delay and the Arcadian bear had been turned about her axis. What could I have done? I kept being held back by the sweet love of country, but the night was the last before my ordered exile. Ah! How often I spoke as someone hurried by: "Why do you hasten? Consider whither and whence you are hurrying to go." Ah! How often I lied that I had a set time that would suit the impending journey.

The first allusion to the Callisto myth establishes the background for the entire section. The 'Parrhasian bear' that introduces the new temporal setting of the 'act' is the constellation into which Callisto was metamorphosed by Jupiter after she had been transformed into a bear by the jealous Juno.[341] The constellation, which is most visible throughout the night, signals the arrival of the exile's day of relegation, a day upon which he, like Callisto, will undergo metamorphic speech loss.[342]

The second allusion builds on the first and makes a direct link between the effects metamorphic speech loss had on Callisto's human and communal identity and the effects it will have on the situation of the exile. As first mentioned in passing by Posch, the anaphoric *a! quotiens* is a direct allusion to the Callisto story from the *Metamorphoses*:[343]

a! quotiens, sola non ausa quiescere silva, ante domum quondamque suis erravit in agris! **a! quotiens** per saxa canum latratibus acta est venatrixque metu venantum territa fugit! (*M.* 2.489-492)	Ah! How many times she did not dare to relax alone in the forest, she wandered into the fields before her former home! Ah! How many times she, a huntress, was driven through the rocks by the barking of dogs, and, terrified by the fear of the prey, fled!

Callisto, having been recently transformed into a bear and rendered speechless and, subsequently, unable to communicate her identity through a verbal means, is described as

[341] cf. *M.* 2.401ff. and *F.* 2.153ff. Bonvicini 1991 *ad loc*.: "l'Orsa Maggiore Parrasia, cioè dell'Arcadia, dove sorge il monte Parrasio. Il mito narra che la ninfa Callisto, figlia del re arcade Licaone, conquistò l'amore di Giove e, a causa di ciò, Giunone, gelosa, la trasformò in un'orsa. Giove poi l'assunse in cielo dove splende col nome di Orsa Maggiore" ["The Great Parrhasian Bear, that of Arcadia, where the Parrhasian mountain rises. According to the myth, the nymph Callisto, daughter of the Arcadian king, Lycaon, won the love of Jupiter, and because of this, Juno, jealous, turned her into a bear. Jupiter then took her into heaven where she shines with the name of Ursa Major"]. For more, cf. Bomer *ad* 2.276ff. and Luck 1977 *ad* 1.3.47ff.

[342] Bonvicini 1991 *ad* 1.3.48: "[l'Orsa Maggiore Parrasia], visibile tutta la note, ruota intorno al suo asse così che al mattino occupa la posizione opposta a quella della sera" ["[The Great Parrhasian Bear], visibile throughout the night, rotates around its axis so that in the morning it occupies the position opposite to that of the evening"].

[343] Posch 151n359.

an individual with a 'wavering identity': not entirely fit for either the human or animal community. She stands before her house debating where she should go, in which community she belonged.

In *Tristia* 1.3, the exile faces the same situation. Having just stood outside his house and reflected on the city and identity he was about to lose, he poses a question of direction similar to Callisto's: whither or whence is everyone hurrying to go? The exile himself is frozen in uncertainty between the desire to stay out of love for Rome and the necessity of leaving because of Augustus' order.[344] He too stands on the precipice of metamorphosis and 'wavering identity' and the allusion to the Callisto tale serves to provide an allusive analog to emphasize that situation.[345]

Within the same eight lines in which Ovid made allusions to the Callisto myth, there is an allusion to another Ovidian tale of metamorphic speech loss: the Philomela narrative. The couplet between the reference to Ursa Major and the anaphoric *a! quotiens* begins with a deliberative subjunctive reminiscent of the beginning of a hexameter line from the Philomela narrative in the *Metamorphoses*:

Signa deus bis sex acto lustraverat anno; **quid faciat Philomela?** fugam custodia claudit, structa rigent solido stabulorum moenia saxo, os mutum facti caret indice. grande doloris ingenium est, miserisque venit sollertia rebus: (*M.* 6.571-575)	The year completed, the god had brought full circle twice six; what could Philomela do? A guard closed off flight, the walls of the stable, built with solid stone, stand firm, and an *os mutum* lacks a means of describing the deed. Her mind is heavy with grief, but cleverness comes in miserable affairs.

[344] cf. Actæon's inner monologue, *M.* 3.204-205: *quid faciat? repetatne domum et regalia tecta, / an lateat silvis? pudor hoc, timor impedit illud*.
[345] Posch 151n359.

In these lines, Philomela finds herself trapped in the forest stable with no way out. Moreover, because of her speech loss, she has no way of communicating her identity. She is, in essence, stuck between the animal and human, the non-speaking and speaking worlds.

In the context of *T.* 1.3, the deliberative subjunctive *quid facerem* looks back to this episode and adds depth to the exilic situation by framing it with references to the Callisto narrative. As just shown, the Callisto narrative provided an analog to the exilic situation based on the concept of wavering identity and loss of community. The Philomela narrative also speaks to both of these points, but superimposes on top of them the added dimension of speech loss.

A few lines later, we find another allusion to a transformed character from the *Metamorphoses*: Dryope. Forbis 1997 has already identified the close relationship between the description of the exile's metamorphosis and that of Dryope, noting the similarities in situation and transformation: both the exile and Dryope are surrounded by their families at the time of metamorphoses, both situations are ones of grief and sadness, and both characters suddenly lose the ability to speak because of their transformation.[346] However, whereas Forbis is correct in identifying the similarities between the general situations, she leaves out the specific connections between the two narratives that cluster around the moment of the exile's transformation; for that moment occurs mid-speech:

[346] Forbis 1997 252-254.

denique 'quid propero? Scythia est, quo mittimur', inquam,
'Roma relinquenda est, utraque iusta mora.
uxor in aeternum uiuo mihi uiua negatur,
et domus et fidae dulcia membra domus,
quosque ego dilexi fraterno more sodales,
o mihi Thesea pectora iuncta fide!
dum licet, **amplectar**: numquam fortasse licebit
amplius; in lucro est quae datur hora mihi.'
nec mora sermonis uerba inperfecta relinquo,
complectens animo proxima quaeque meo.
dum loquor et flemus, caelo nitidissimus alto,
stella grauis nobis, Lucifer ortus erat.
diuidor haud aliter, quam si mea membra relinquam,
et pars abrumpi corpore uisa suo est.
(*T.* 1.3.62-72)

Finally, I say. "Why should I hurry? It is Scythia to which I am sent and Rome must be left behind. Both are good reasons for delaying. I am denied my wife forever, though she lives, and my house and the sweet members of my loyal house, associates whom I cherish as a brother would – oh, hearts joined to me with Thesean loyalty! I shall embrace you, while I can: perhaps it will never be allowed again; what time remains is a profit for me." Without delay, I leave the unfinished words of my conversation, embracing those closest to my heart. While I am speaking and we are crying, Lucifer, the brightest star in the high sky, a star forboding to us, had arisen. I am split hardly otherwise than if I would have lost my limbs, and part of me seems to be ripped from its body.

Leading up to his sudden transformation, the exile places a heightened emphasis on embracing those around him (*amplectar*, *complectens*) while it is still allowed to do so (*dum licet*). As he does this, the exile breaks off midspeech, and never speaks again for the remainder of the poem. This moment marks the end of the exile's ability to speak: as his words go unfinished, the day of his relegation dawns (*Lucifer ortus erat*)[347], distinguishing the exile's spoken past from his now silent present (69-72).

Such a description of transformation shares verbal allusions to the moments in which Dryope was transformed:

[347] Huskey 2002 100-101 reads this as an allusion to the Fall of Troy at *Aeneid* 2.801-803: *iamque iugis summae surgebat* / ***Lucifer*** *Idea* / *ducebatque diem, Danaique obsessa tenebant* / *limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur*. He argues that Ovid describes the exile's movement into relegation in same manner in which Vergil portrays Aeneas leading the Trojans into exile (*matresque uirosque,* / *collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile uulgus,* 2.797-798).

spectatrix aderam fati crudelis, opemque non poteram tibi ferre, soror, quantumque valebam, crescentem truncum ramosque **amplexa** morabar, et, fateor, volui sub eodem cortice condi. (*M.* 9.359-62)	I was present, a spectator to cruel fate and I was not able to bring help to you, sister; how much I kept saying farewell, and kept delaying, embracing the rising trunk and limbs, and, I confess, I wished to be covered under the same bark.
nil nisi iam faciem, quod non foret arbor, habebat cara soror: lacrimae misero de corpore factis inrorant foliis, ac, **dum licet, oraque praestant vocis iter**, tales effundit in aera questus: (*M.* 9.367-70)	There is nothing but your face that was not already tree, dear sister: tears rain on the fashioned leaves down from your poor body, and while it was allowed and your mouth left a path for your voice, it poured out such laments into the air:

In addition to the general situation of mourning and sudden speech loss identified by Forbis 1997, the description of the embrace of Dryope and her sister (*amplexa*) and Dryope's attempts to speak to her family while she was allowed to do so (*dum licet*) point to the specific linking of these passages with the portrayal of the exile's transformation.[348] The force of this allusion is to repeat the concepts of speech loss, community loss, and wavering identity brought by the allusions to the Philomela and Callisto episodes, but what this allusion also provides is a descriptive angle for the exile's transformation: like Dryope, the exile's transformation is sudden and immediately removes him from the embraces of his community. As soon as the dawn of the day of his relegation occurs, the exile's speech stops short and he is removed from the closeness of those he loves.

[348] cf. Posch 155n367: "Besondere Erwähnung verdient met. IX 369, wo Gatte und Vater *dum licet* von Dryope Abschied nehmen, während die Metamorphose sich rasch und unaufhaltsam vollzieht; wir erinnern uns daran, daß Ovid trist. I 119f. seine Verbannung al seine Metamorphose versteht." ["met. IX 369 deserves special mention, where husband and father say farewell to Dryope *dum licet*, while the metamorphosis rapidly and inexorably takes hold; we remember that Ovid in trist. I 119f. understands his exile as his metamorphosis."]

Until this point of the poem, the exile had been a part of community, surrounded by his family and friends. However, when his words stop in mid-speech, he loses his voice and, consequently, his community. Ovid emphasizes this removal from community in the next seven lines. Georg Luck has rightly noticed their separation, writing that, "der Akt des Zerreißens ist durch drei verschiendene Verben ausgedrückt: *dividior, membra relinquam,* [und] *abrumpi.*"[349] Ovid is literally torn from his society as Mettus (75-6) was torn apart by his horses (cf. Tola 2008 59-60).[350]

The 'dismembered', separated exile is henceforth surprisingly (or perhaps not) absent from the poem. In fact, the focus shifts to the grieving of his lost community. Then, Ovid writes, the cries and groans of *his* people arose (*tum vero exoritur clamor gemitusque meorum*, 77). This lament is furthered by the following line (*et feriunt maestae pectora nuda manus*) and truly begins to take on the shape of a funeral lament.[351] Indeed, the exile's wife clings to his body and begs him to take her with him, her speech creating a nice parallel to his earlier prayer. However, the exile makes no reply to his wife's impassioned plea; perhaps he, transformed, is no longer able to do so verbally. Instead, Ovid leaves (*egredior*), bedraggled and as one at the moment of death.

Therefore, the entirety of *T.* 1.3 centers on a crucial issue: the exile's separation from community and his loss of speech. Ovid brings these aspects to the forefront

[349] Luck, G. p. 44

[350] Cf. note 42. Livy 1.27 ff., particularly 1.28.10 (rather gruesomely), recounts how Mettus was ripped apart by wild horses in the war against Tullius Hostilius. Also see Vergil *Aen.* 8.642ff., *haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae / distulerant*. These two lines on Mettus are have been disputed in the past. For more, see Luck 44.

[351] Luck 44: "Das Schlagen der entblößen Brust gehört zur Totenklage." ["The act of beating the bare chest belongs to lament."] Cf. *Tris*. 3.3.48: *feries pavida pectora fida manu* and *Fasti* 4.454: *et feriunt maesta pectora nada manu*.

through the consistent allusions to characters from the *Metamorphoses* who underwent a similar transformation. As the poem progresses, the exile slowly moves from a position of speech to one of speech loss and from one of community to one of social death. Allusions to Callisto, Philomela, Dryope, and Actæon are deployed throughout *T.* 1.3 to emphasize particular aspects of the exile's impending loss of speech and community. Moreover, the use of *T.* 1.3, the first narrative poem in all the exile literature,[352] to describe the transformation of the exile sets the tone for the remainder of the exile literature: having lost his ability to speak and his connection to community, he must spend the rest of the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* attempting to refind his voice and to reconnect with his community.

Tristia 1.2 and 1.4: Voicelessness on the Journey to Tomis

Surrounding the narrative of the exile's transformation in *T.* 1.3 is a pair of poems depicting the exile's hard travels from Rome to Tomis, *T.* 1.2 and 1.4. These poems tell of the perils of a journey by sea to a foreign land in a fashion typical in both elegy and epic.[353] In the artistic ordering of the *Tristia* 1 already mentioned, *T.* 1.2 and 1.4 have typically been read together as a doublet surrounding the narrative of change in *T.* 1.3.[354] In addition to the place of the organization of the doublet in describing the nature of his

[352] As mentioned at the outset of this section, *T.* 1.1 is not a narrative poem, but an introduction to the *Tristia* as a whole, and *T.* 1.2 should be taken together with *T.* 1.4 as a storm narrative that brackets the tale of transformation in *T.* 1.3.

[353] The perils of sea travel were a common theme in both epic and elegy. For epic, Cf. Ovid *M.* 11.748ff.; Homer *Od.* 5.291ff. and 12.403ff.; Vergil *A* 1.81ff. and 3.192ff. For elegy, Cf. Tib. 1.5.35ff.; *Culex* 383. Cf. also Hor. *C.* 1.3, his propemptikon for Vergil.

[354] Bettenworth 2011 argues that the doublet be read together as a means of focusing on the tempestuousness of the exile's life.

exile, these poems also present the first instance of the exile's new position as a speechless *exul*. As he travels from Rome to Tomis, on multiple occasions the exile attempts to speak and to communicate with the gods, only to have his attempts thwarted by the waves of the sea.

In *T.* 1.2, the exile opens with the observation that when one god opposes a man, often another brings him aid, and the exile hopes that this too will be the case for him if he prays. However, his attempts at prayers do not reach the ears of the intended divine addressees:

uerba miser frustra **non proficientia** perdo. ipsa graues spargunt ora loquentis aquae, terribilisque Notus iactat mea dicta, precesque ad quos mittuntur, non sinit ire deos. ergo idem uenti, ne causa laedar in una, uelaque nescio quo uotaque nostra ferunt. (*T.* 1.2.13-18)	A wretch, I'm wasting idle words in vain. My mouth that speaks is drenched by heavy waves, and fearful Notus hurls my words away, and won't let my prayers reach the gods they were intended for. So the same winds drive my sails and prayers who knows where, so I'm doubly punished. (*trans. Kline*)
scilicet occidimus, nec spes est ulla salutis, **dumque loquor**, uultus obruit unda meos. opprimet hanc animam fluctus, frustraque precanti ore necaturas accipiemus aquas. (*T.* 1.2.33-36)	Surely we're done for, there's no hope of safety, while I speak the waves drench my face. The breakers will crush this life of mine, with lips praying in vain, I'll swallow the fatal waters. (*trans. Kline*)

Each time that the exile attempts to pray for assistance, his prayers are literally drowned out by the waves. His words amount to nothing (*verba non proficientia*), a phrase that is reminiscent of the failed prayer of the exile's wife in *T.* 1.3 (*verba non valitura*, 1.3.45-46).[355] Moreover, the harsh realities of the exile's loss of speech and his seemingly

[355] Cf. Luck 1977 *ad T.* 1.2.13.

impending death alone on the sea are contrasted with a death on land in which the dying individual is able to speak his last wishes to his family:

nec letum timeo; genus est miserabile leti; demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit. est aliquid, fatoue suo ferroue cadentem in solida moriens ponere corpus humo, et mandare suis aliqua et sperare sepulcrum et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum. (*T.* 1.2.51-56)	I don't fear dying: but this way of dying's wretched. Save me from drowning, and death will be a blessing. A natural death or dying under the blade, at least your body rests on the solid ground, as you ebb, and there are requests to others, and hope of a tomb, not to be food for the fishes in the ocean. (*trans. Kline*)

The newly exiled poet can now see the full ramifications of his exilic state. Instead of being surrounded by family and friends on his deathbed, able to speak his wishes to his community (*mandare suis*), he will die alone in isolation and unable to speak.[356]

The same imagery recurs again in *T.* 1.4, as the exile again describes his peril on the sea, albeit in a less explicit manner:[357]

dum loquor et timeo pariter cupioque repelli, increpuit quantis uiribus unda latus! (*T.* 1.4.23-24)	While I speak and equally fear and desire to be sent back, with what force a wave crushed the side of the boat!

Here, the exile shudders at the power of the waves crashing against his ship – and probably covering him with water – while he attempts to speak. Although this lone reference to speech in the poem does not explicitly detail the new speechless nature of the exile, it does create an allusion back to *T.* 1.2 with the repetition of *dum loquor* (*T.* 1.4.23 ≈ *T.* 1.2.34). Whenever the exile tries to speak, something prevents him; in these poems it is the waves and the winds. Moreover, the phrase *dum loquor* also points back to an

[356] The emphasis on speech is a slight modification of the traditional complaints of the epic hero stranded on the sea. Cf. Ver. *A.* 1.94-96: *O terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis / contigit oppetere!*
[357] Cf. *T.*1.11.24, *Am*. 2.19.5, *M.*14.215; Homer *Od*. 15.480.

important moment in the poem that *T.* 1.2 and 1.4 surround, as in *T.* 1.3, the point of the exile's transformation is marked with the same phrase:

dum loquor et flemus, caelo nitidissimus alto, stella grauis nobis, Lucifer ortus erat. diuidor haud aliter, quam si mea membra relinquam, et pars abrumpi corpore uisa suo est. (*T.* 1.3.69-72)	While I speak and we weep, the brightest Lucifer, a star grievous to me, had arisen high in the sky. I am torn as if I'm losing my limbs and part seems to be broken from its body.

Therefore, by repeating the same phrase that indicated the moment the exile entered into a speechless state, Ovid points to the exile's continued state of speechlessness. Now, whenever the exile attempts to speak, there will always be a hinderance to prevent him from communicating successfully.

Furthermore, the picture of the exile that is painted in these storm poems sets the foundation for his portrayal throughout the exile literature. Now isolated in Tomis, he continuously attempts to communicate with his lost community, only to find some hindrance in his path. He no longer has a physical voice with which to identify himself. Therefore, the exile that we see after these opening poems of the *Tristia* is one struggling to overcome his speechlessness. Ovid draws attention to the exile's struggle, as he did in *T.* 1.3, by alluding to characters in the *Metamorphoses* that had undergone transformation and speech loss. It is to these allusions that we now turn our attention.

Performing Voicelessness: Description of Speech Loss in the Exile Literature

Having described the exile's metamorphosis from a speaking member of community to a speechless exile in the opening three narrative poems of the *Tristia*, Ovid

continues this description throughout the remainder of the exile literature, painting a picture of an exile bereft of the ability to communicate verbally. A number of scholarly treatments of the exile's speechlessness have pointed to the multiple complaints of the exile regarding his voiceless state, while others have indicated the similarities between the exile's voicelessness and that of characters from the *Metamorphoses*. In particular, Forbis 1997 and Stevens 2009 have most clearly laid out these parallels. Forbis identifies parallels between the exile's story and those of Actæon and the Swan and the Raven, the effect of which is to proclaim the exile's innocence and the unintentionality of his *error* against Augustus;[358] likewise, she also points to the fact that the description of the exile's transformation resembles that of Dryope[359] and that the manner in which the exile attempts to navigate his voicelessness is similar to those taken up by Philomela and Io.[360] Stevens, on the other hand, focuses his attention more on the complaints of the exile and less on the allusions to the *Metamorphoses*.[361] Therefore, he discusses the exile's complaints of loneliness, lack of poetic inspiration, and inability to communicate with the Getans and Sarmatians.[362]

Although these studies do well to point out the similarities between the exile's condition and those of characters in the *Metamorphoses*, they lack an in-depth discussion of why Ovid chose to depict the exile in such a manner and, more importantly, why he chose these particular characters as analogs for the exile. In this section, therefore, I will

[358] Forbis 249-252, 262-263.
[359] ibid., 252-254. Cf. the last section above on *T.* 1.3.
[360] ibid., 259-262.
[361] Many of these eventually become the *topoi* of exilic literature identified by Doblhofer 1989 and Gaertner 2007. For more, see Chapter 1.
[362] For loneliness, see pp. 169-170; for lack of poetic inspiration, see 170-173; and for the inability to communicate, see 165-169, 173-176.

build on the foundations set by Forbis and Stevens, seeking to explore the force of such self-allusive parallels and to situate them within the pattern of 'speech loss - isolation from community - writing' as reintegration that was identified in the previous chapter. In particular, I will take up the parallels drawn with the story of Philomela because, as an example of the full scope of the pattern in the *Metamorphoses*, it provides the hopeful ideal to which the exile aspires in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto.*

I will begin the analysis with a discussion of the use of the Philomela myth in descriptions of speechlessness in the exile literature. As explained in the previous chapter, the story of Philomela not only provided a full depiction of the movement from speech loss to the successful act of 'writing oneself back into community', but also was pregnant with metaphors of the act of writing poetry. The description of Philomela's weaving as a *miserabile carmen* and the use of terms like *callidus*, *intexere*, and *tela* both call to mind the act of weaving poetry together and describe Philomela as a sort of poet-character in the mold of Ariadne or Orpheus.[363] Because of her state as poet-character and victim of voicelessness, Philomela was a logical choice as an analog to the exile and provided various angles for Ovid to explore the exile's situation. In this section, I will focus on two methods in which Ovid uses the Philomela myth: 1) to make explicit statements about the exile's poetry through the repetition of similar vocabulary, and 2) to make explicit statements about *Ovid's situation* through the use of allusion and intertexutality.

[363] cf. p. 116ff. above.

To start our discussion of the use of vocabulary from the Philomela myth to describe the exile's condition, we start with two passages from the *Metamorphoses*:

"in **populos** veniam; si silvis **clausa** tenebor, inplebo silvas et conscia saxa movebo; **audiet** haec aether et si deus ullus in illo est!" (*M.* 6.546-48)	"I shall come to the people; if I am held, enclosed in the woods, I shall fill the woods and I shall move the very rocks to understand; the ether will hear these things, along with any god that is in it."
stamina barbarica suspendit callida **tela** purpureasque notas filis intexuit albis, **indicium** sceleris; perfectaque tradidit uni, utque ferat dominae, **gestu** rogat; illa rogata pertulit ad Procnen nec scit, quid tradat in illis. (*M.* 6.576-580)	She wove a clever fabric on the foreign warp and interwove purple markings with white thread, a symbol of [Tereus'] wickedness; she handed the completed weaving to her servant and asks her with a gesture to bring it to her mistress; she asks with a gesture; the other carried it through to Procne and knew not what she handed over in it.

In the first passage, Philomela threatens Tereus, claiming that she will expose his misdeed regardless of where he puts her. There is a supreme confidence in Philomela that her message will get through, that she will be successful in telling her story; though she herself may be held in the woods (*clausa tenebor*), her voice will nevertheless overcome her isolation.

Let us compare Philomela's sentiments – along with the terminology used to profess them – with two excerpts from the exile literature in which the exile threatens an enemy and explains his condition to a friend:

quod Scythicis habitem longe summotus in oris,
siccaque sint oculis proxima signa meis,
nostra per inmensas ibunt praeconia **gentes**,
quodque querar notum qua patet orbis erit.
ibit ad occasum quicquid dicemus ob ortu,
testis et Hesperiae vocis Eous erit.
trans ego tellurem, trans altas **audiar** undas,
et gemitus vox est magna futura mei;
nec tua te sontem tantummodo saecula norint,
perpetuae crimen posteritatis eris.
(*Tr.* 4.9.17-26)

Although I live, driven far off, on Scythian shores, and the dry signs are closest to my eyes, my heralds will go among many peoples, and my complaint will be known throughout the world. That which I shall say will go from East to West, and the Eastern wind will be witness of a Western voice. Across the land, across the deep seas I shall be heard, and great will be the future voice of my groan; moreover, not only your age will know you as a criminal, but you will be a crime to generations everlasting.

Clausa tamen misi Scythica tibi **tela** pharetra:
hoste, precor, fiant illa **cruenta** tuo.
Hos habet haec calamos, hos haec habet ora libellos,
haec uiget in nostris, Maxime, Musa locis!
(*P.* 3.8.19-22)

Yet, I have sent you weapons enclosed in a Scythian quiver: I pray that they be stained with the blood of your enemy. This shore holds these pens, this shore holds these booklets, in these places, O Maximus, this is the Muse that flourishes.

In the first excerpt, the exile threatens his enemy in much the same manner as Philomela threatens Tereus: although he is isolated from his community, his voice will continue to travel and to tell of his enemies' misdeeds. Just as Philomela says she will go *in populos*, the exile affirms that his heralds will go *per inmensas gentes*.[364] Likewise, the two passages share in the use of *audire*, as both Philomela and the exile will be *heard* by all, despite the loss of their respective voices. Even though it would pushing the comparison between these passages too far to call their relationship an explicit allusion, both passages profess the same general outlook and speak to the fact that the voiceless exile is experiencing a situation close to that of Philomela.

The second exilic excerpt, however, does seem to point to a closer relationship to the Philomela tale through the use of the terms *clausa*, *tela*, and *cruenta*. The exile opens

[364] cf. also *F.* 5.221: *prima per inmensas sparsi nova semina gentes*; and *T.* 4.2.59: *ille per inmensas spatiatur libera terras.*

this passage with a description of the poetry he has sent the addressee, Paullus Fabius Maximus.[365] The term *tela* serves double duty as both *tela, ae* ('woven fabric') and *telum, i* ('weapons/spears'). In one sense, Ovid has sent Maximus actual arrows from Scythia, as such arrows were a Greek literary *topos*, and elsewhere in the exile literature such arrows were both the major threat to the exile's safety and the only worthwhile gift that Scythia could produce.[366] In another sense, as pointed out by Nagle 1980, the *tela* represent the poetic material at hand for the exile, as the constant fighting and threats of attack furnished "material for poetry, since one recurring theme in the exilic poetry is the unpleasant nature of the place and its people."[367]

In addition to these meanings furnished by the *telum*, the meaning of *tela, ae* also seems to be present beneath the surface. The function of *tela* as an object that the exile has sent to his lost community evokes the *tela* upon which Philomela weaves her story to be sent to her lost sister, Procne. Moreover, this potential allusion is strengthened by the presence of two other strong terms from the Philomela tale: *clausa* and *cruenta*. As can be seen in the first excerpt above from the *Metamorphoses*, *clausa* is the manner in which Philomela describes her captured and isolated state. Likewise, since the exile is fond of conflating himself with his poetry (e.g., *I [as poetry]* will be heard, *audiar* above), it is not too much of a stretch to consider the *enclosed* material of the exile's letter to be the

[365] Paullus Fabius Maximus is probably the most well-known person in Ovid's exilic corpus, and is the addressee of at least three of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (1.2, 3.3, 3.8). Maximus held the consulship in 11 BCE, was a pontifex, and a member of the *fratres Arvales*. Maximus' wife, Marcia, was a cousin of Augustus, and it is thought that Maximus himself exerted some modicum of influence on the *princeps* (Tact *Ann.* 1.5; Quin *Inst.* 6.3.52). In addition to Ovid, Maximus appears in Hor *C.* 4. For more on the historical significance of Paullus Fabius Maximus, see Syme 1978 135-155.

[366] Claassen 1999, 298n54. For the Scythian arrow as a threat to the exile, see. *Tr.*3.10.64-65, 4.10.110ff; *P*. 1.8.6.

[367] Nagle 59. See also Frécaut 1972, 315ff.

exile himself, placing him in the same enclosed state as that in which Philomela described herself.[368] Thirdly, the exile confesses the wish that through poetry he may be able to stain Maximus' enemies with blood. This confluence of gore and the act of sending calls to mind the climactic moment of the Philomela tale: when Philomela throws the head of Tereus' son, Itys, in his father's face:

prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela **cruentum** misit in ora patris nec tempore maluit ullo posse loqui et meritis testari gaudia dictis. (*M.* 6.558-560)	Philomela leapt forth and sent the bloodied head of Itys into the face of his father; at no other time would she have preferred to have been able to speak and to attest to her joy with deserved words.

For Philomela, the *tela*, which she worked while *clausa*, delivered the blood-stained (*cruentum*) head of her enemy's son. Likewise, the confluence of these three terms seems to underlie the meaning of the exile's letter to Maximus: as Philomela, he will travel through his enclosed poetry (*clausa tela*) and will bring about the bloody end (*cruenta*) for Maximus' enemies. Aside from setting forth the purpose of the exile's poem, it also serves to draw a direct relationship between the exile and Philomela: both are isolated and bereft of voice, but still maintain the ability to write their way back into their community and to create devastating effects for their enemies through the continued efficacy of their writing.

The connections between the exile's condition and Philomela's situation, however, are not limited to a few isolated excerpts; many more systemic examples can be identified throughout the exile literature. Two similarities in particular are of import

[368] Cf. the concept of 'letter-as-self' later in this chapter.

here: 1) the description of communicative attempts through gesture, and 2) the manner in which the content of 'writing' is portrayed. To begin with the description of communication, we turn first to the method employed by Philomela in the *Metamorphoses*: the gesture.

As can be seen from the first excerpt provided above (*M.* 6.576-80), when Philomela loses her ability to speak, she not only turns to writing, but also to gesture, asking her servant to come and take her weaving to Procne (*gestu rogat*). The act of gesture is also a prominent manner in which the exile's condition is described in both the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*.[369] Having lost his vocal ability, the exile turns to gesture in an attempt to communicate with the Getans and Sarmatians around him:

Exercent illi sociae commercia linguae:
per **gestum** res est significanda mihi.
Barbarus hic ego sum, qui non intellegor ulli,
et rident stolidi uerba Latina Getae;
meque palam de me tuto mala saepe loquuntur,
forsitan obiciunt exiliumque mihi.
utque fit, in me aliquid ficti, dicentibus illis
abnuerim quotiens annuerimque, putant.
(*T.* 5.10.35-42)

They carry out conversations in a common tongue, but things only make sense to me through gesture. Here I am a barbarian, who is not intelligible to anyone; moreover, the foolish Getes mock my Latin words and in my very presence often speak ill of me, perhaps upbraiding me for my exile. As usual, they think something is wrong with me whenever they speak to me and I only nod yes or no in response.

The exile's attempts at communication are portrayed with the same term, *gestus*, as those of Philomela. However, whereas Philomela's gestures were understood by the servant, and Philomela could conceivably understand if the servant had spoken anything in reply, the exile does not enjoy such success. Since he does not speak the languages of the Getes, the exile is mocked openly and is unable to understand or defend himself from

[369] For a detailed analysis of gesture in the exilic corpus, see Stevens 2009 176-180.

such ridicule. Moreover, his gestures are not successful in communicating any meaning to the Getes other than a mental disability or extreme social awkwardness. In such a regard, the exile's condition resembles Philomela's in the use of gestures to communicate, but it is ultimately much worse and much more isolating. Unable to understand or to be understood, the exile lives in complete social isolation and is limited to writing to Latin-speaking friends as his only means of social interaction.

Yet in other places, even writing is likened to an ineffective gesture such as the ones performed by the exile in the above excerpt. Consider, for example, the exile's complaints to Cornelius Severus[370]:

Da ueniam fasso, studiis quoque frena remisi
ducitur et digitis littera rara meis.
Inpetus ille sacer qui uatum pectora nutrit,
qui prius in nobis esse solebat, abest.
Vix uenit ad partes, uix sumptae Musa tabellae
inponit pigras paene coacta manus,
paruaque, ne dicam scribendi nulla uoluptas
est mihi nec numeris nectere uerba iuuat,
siue quod hinc fructus adeo non cepimus ullos,
principium nostri res sit ut ista mali,
siue quod in tenebris numerosos ponere gestus
quodque legas nulli scribere carmen idem est:
(*P*. 4.2.23-34)

Forgive my saying, but I have dropped the reins of study and rare is the letter that is led from my fingers. That sacred impulse that nourishes the breasts of poets, that used to be present in me before all, is absent. Scarcely does the Muse play her part, scarcely does she place her hesitant hand on my tablets, when I take them up - and she almost has to be forced to do even that; for me there is little to no joy to speak of in writing, and it does not please to interlace words in meter, whether it is the fact that thus far I have not gained any profit from it that makes this affair the genesis of my misfortune, or the fact that to write a poem that you can read to no one is akin to making numerous gestures in the dark.

Here the exile states that he has begun to give up on the act of writing because no one is able to understand the poems that he is writing. The extent to which we should believe such a statement is debatable, especially since the statement was made in the very form of

[370] Cornelius Severus, like Ovid, was a poet under Augustus who wrote an epic poem on the Sicilian Wars (*Bellum Siculum*) and a poem on the Kings of Rome (cf. Sen *Suas* 6.26). Both of these works come down to us only in fragments. For a more detailed historical sketch, see Syme 1978 88-89. For fragments of his work, see Morel, W. (1963), *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*, pp. 116-119.

writing that the exile is promising to give up. However, the sense of isolation that began with speech loss in *Tristia* 1 has filtered through to the use of gesture and writing in *Tristia* 5, and finally to the loss of both in the final book of *Epistulae*. The gradual deterioration of the exile is apparent and, although the descriptions of his exile are grounded in the vocabulary and ideas of the Philomela tale, the effects of his isolation are much more devastating.[371]

In addition to the use of gesture to describe the exile's attempts at communication, the exile literature also shares another similarity with the Philomela tale: the description of the content of the character's 'writing'. In the *Metamorphoses*, Philomela is portrayed as weaving on her loom an *indicium sceleris*, the proof or evidence of the wicked act of Tereus. The term *indicium* is used throughout the exile literature as a means of describing the content of the exile's poetry.[372] Consider two examples from the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*:

Diuidimur caelo quaeque est procul urbe Quirini aspicit hirsutos comminus ursa Getas. Per tantum terrae, tot aquas uix credere possum indicium studii transiluisse mei. (*P.* 1.5.73-76)	We're divided by the heavens, and the Bear, far from Quirinus's city, sees the wild Getae near. I can scarcely believe indication of my zeal could leap across so much land and sea. (*trans. Kline - modified*)
Adde quod, ut rerum sola es tutela mearum, ad te non parui uenit honoris onus, quod numquam uox est de te mea muta tuique indiciis debes esse superba uiri. (*T.* 5.14.18)	Add that you're the sole custodian of my estate, a burden to you that comes with no little honour: that my voice is never silent about you, and you should be proud of your husband's testimony. (*trans. Kline*)

[371] Cf. Evans 1983 172ff. for the concept of increasing despair in the the exile literature.

[372] *T.* 2.357; 2.379; 3.4.71; 4.10.100; 5.14.18; *P.* 1.5.76; 3.2.104. *Indicium* also has a legal flavor to its meaning: Cf. such idioms as *indicium postulare* (to seek pardon by informing) and *indicium profiteri* and *indicium offerre* (to offer information). See *OLD* s.v. *indicium* 2b. For more on *indicium* in the exile literature, see Gibson 1999, esp. 27-28, 30, 36.

In the first excerpt, the exile, writing to Cotta Maximus, marvels at the fact that the content of his poetry is able to travel so great a distance and that he is able to communicate in some form with his friend. As in the Philomela narrative, *indicium* refers to the content of the poetry, a poetic content that is able to traverse long distances and to connect the exile to a lost community. In the second excerpt, the *indicium* again describes the content of the exile's poetry, but the content is now the exile's wife and the force of the *indicium* is not only to connect the exile to his wife, but also to communicate something about the exile's wife to a larger audience. Such an expanded effect the written communication of the exile has on multiple audiences will be discussed further later in this chapter and in Chapter 4, but for the present discussion, the important aspect to notice is the use of the same vocabulary from the Philomela myth to describe the poetic writing of the exile, a writing aimed at mediating the social divide created by his relegation to Tomis.

To recap: thus far, we have seen a variety of similarities and allusions between the Philomela tale of the *Metamorphoses* and the story of the exile in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*. Both characters are described as isolated and voiceless, and both turn to gesture and writing to create an *indicium* of their situation. The only difference between the two narratives is that the exile's, though grounded in the vocabulary and situation of the Philomela tale, is taken further and the exile's attempts at communication are described as ineffective, rendering the exile completely isolated. Therefore, thus far the allusions that the exilic description made to the story of Philomela have been relegated to the narrative level: the character in both texts undergoes a similar situation, and the

knowledge of both narratives serves to deepen the understanding of both through a shared background.[373]

However, one of the main aspects of the intertextuality between Ovid's exilic *oeuvre* and the Philomela narrative of the *Metamorphoses* is the commentary that it provides not on the exile, but on Ovid himself. We, perhaps, can catch a glimpse of the authorial Ovid through an exploration of a distinct chain of allusions linking Ovid's exile literature to the Philomela of the *Metamorphoses*, and the Philomela of the *Metamorphoses* to an intertext between Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ennius' *Annales*. Through this allusive chain, we can begin to see the extent to which the Philomela story truly encapsulates the exilic experience for both Ovid's exilic persona and, perhaps, for Ovid himself.

We begin our analysis of this chain of allusions with a seemingly straightforward reference to the Philomela narrative in a list of comparisons between the exile's situation and the situations of other literary characters:

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos ducit et inmemores non sinit esse sui. Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius? Huc tamen ex ista barbarus urbe fugit. Cum bene sit clausae cauea **Pandione natae**, nititur in siluas illa redire suas. Adsuetos tauri saltus, adsueta leones – nec feritas illos inpedit – antra petunt. (*P*. 1.3.35-42)	By some sweetness one's native land leads everyone back and does not allow them to forget it. What is better than Rome? What is worse than the Scythian cold? Yet, hither a barbarian flees from that city. Although the cage well suits the daughter of Pandion locked up within it, she strives to return to her forests. Bulls seek their accustomed glades, lions their accustomed caves – and their fierceness does not prevent them.

[373] Cf. Conte's integrative allusion (Conte 1986 *passim*).

P. 1.3, written to a Rufinius, thanks the addressee for his kindness and his attempts to hearten the exile. The section in which the above excerpt is located attempts to prove to Rufinius that, although his attempts at assisting the exile are appreciated and even momentarily successful (*Cum bene firmarunt animum praecepta iacentem / sumptaque sunt nobis pectoris arma tui, / rursus amor patriae ratione ualentior omni / quod tua fecerunt scripta retexit opus,* 1.3.25-30), such attempts ultimately fail because the desire for one's native land (*natale solum*) always will turn the exile's mind back to the despair of his situation. The allusion to the Philomela story provides an example of such a yearning on multiple levels. First, the most literal reading is that the *nata Pandione* refers to an actual nightingale that has been relegated to a cage and desires to fly freely in her native forests.[374] Secondly, the very use of the phrase *nata Pandione* suggests an allusion to the Philomela narrative, as Philomela was traditionally the daughter of King Pandion of Athens.[375] Indeed, the comparison of the exile and Philomela, as we have seen, is an extremely apt one, as both were trapped in isolation in Thrace and both attempted to negotiate speech loss through the written medium. Yet, the allusion should be pushed further as one that pointed back to a specific place in Ovid's Philomela narrative; for the only place in the version from the *Metamorphoses* at which the ablative of origin *Pandione* is present is at the very moment of Philomela's arrival in Thrace, a point at which the phrase *Pandione nata(m/e)* is placed in exactly the same metrical position as its exilic counterpart:

[374] Gaertner 2005 *ad* 1.3.39-40: "The comparison with a nightingale shut up in a cage suits the exiled poet, as the bird is often associated not only with poetry (Hes. *Op.* 202-12, B. 3.97, Call. *Epigr*. 2.5 (Pfeiffer)) but also with lament." For more on the association of the nightingale with Philomela and her narrative, see p. 104ff. above.
[375] ibid., *ad* 1.3.39-40.

Iamque iter effectum, iamque in sua litora fessis puppibus exierant, cum rex **Pandione natam** in stabula alta trahit, silvis obscura vetustis, atque ibi pallentem trepidamque et cuncta timentem et iam cum lacrimis, ubi sit germana, rogantem includit fassusque nefas et virginem et unam vi superat frustra clamato saepe parente, saepe sorore sua, magnis super omnia divis. (*M.* 6.519-526)	Now the journey was complete; now they had disembarked from the tired ships and onto their native shores, when the king dragged the daughter of Pandion into the lofty stables, hidden in the old forests, and there locked her, pallid and trembling and fearing everything and asking with tears where her sister was; and, revealing his evil intentions, he took the lonely virgin by force as she cried in vain often to her father, often to her sister, but above all to the great gods.

Therefore, it seems clear that this exact passage from the *Metamorphoses* is meant to be read with and against the exile's list of examples from *P.* 1.3 and that, as we have seen, the Philomela narrative is an appropriate analog to the exile's experience that provides an added dimension of meaning. However, perhaps Ovid is alluding to something beyond narrative similarity here, as this passage from the *Metamorphoses* is itself an allusion to another passage from the *Aeneid*, which in turn took its cue from a scene in Ennius' *Annales*. Here are the Ennian and Vergilian passages:

Incedunt arbusta per **alta**, securibus caedunt, Percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur **ilex**, **Fraxinus** frangitur atque abies consternitur alta, Pinus proceras peruortunt: omne sonabat Arbustum fremitu siluai frondosai. (Ennius, *Ann.* 175-9 Sk = Macr. *Sat.* 6.2.27)	They pass among the high groves, and hew with axes; they strike down great oaks; the ilex is chopped; the ash is shattered and the high fir laid low; they overturn lofty pines: the whole grove echoes with the leafy forest's din. (*trans. S. Hinds*)
itur in **antiquam siluam**, stabula **alta** ferarum; procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus **ilex** **fraxineaeque** trabes cuneis et fissile robur scinditur, aduoluunt ingentis montibus ornos. (Ver. *A.* 6.179-82)	The journey goes into an ancient forest, the lofty stables of beasts; the pitch-pines fall forth, the ilex, struck by axes, resounds; ashen beams and split oak are cut by wedges; they roll from the mountains on huge lances.

In the Ennian passage, a group of men engage in tree-felling. In the Vergilian excerpt, Aeneas and his Trojans go out from Cumae to find and gather wood for the funeral pyre of Misenus, an act they must complete to continue on their journey to the Underworld and, ultimately, to Italy. These two passages have been shown to be closely related through Vergilian allusion based on the term *silva*. Throughout Latin poetry, the term *silva* is often used metaphorically to represent υλη, 'raw' or 'poetic' material unworked by the art of poetry (Cf. this concept in Statius' *Silvae*, a work that was designed to have the appearance of an unpolished collection of occasional poems).[376] With regard to these two passages, *silva* provides Vergil with an intertextual linchpin. Hinds 1998 provides the clearest description of the intertextual relationship between the two texts based on *silva*:

> It is precisely as *antiqua silva*, in this sense [i.e., as 'raw' material], that the Ennian passage is laid under contribution by Vergil here in *Aen.* 6.179-82. *Itur in antiquam silvam*: on this interpretation the allusion includes its self-annotation; the epic project of the poet is seen to move in step with the epic project of the hero. As Aeneas finds his *silva*, so too does Vergil: the *tour de force* of allusion to poetic material is from the *Aeneid*'s archaic predecessor, the *Annales*, is figured as a harvest of mighty timber from an old-growth forest – in a landscape (that of *Aeneid* 6) charged with associations of awe and venerability (12-13).

In other words, Vergil uses this allusion to Ennius as a means by which he can show his poetic skill and, perhaps, his poetic superiority to Ennius through his ability to intervene

[376] Hinds 1998 12; Coleman 1988 xxii-xxiii.

in Ennius' poetic space. Even if we want to stop short of calling this poetic *aemulatio*, it still stands that Vergil has shown us an example of his poetic power.[377]

Turning now to Ovid, it is to this poetic intertext between Vergil and Ennius and to Vergil's expression of poetic power that Ovid is pointing in his Philomela narrative. Compare that passage to the Vergilian one, both reproduced below:

itur in **antiquam siluam**, **stabula alta** ferarum; procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur scinditur, aduoluunt ingentis montibus ornos. (Ver. *A.* 6.179-82)	The journey goes into an ancient forest, the lofty stables of beasts; the pitch-pines fall forth, the ilex, struck by axes, resounds; ashen beams and split oak are cut by wedges; they roll from the mountains on huge lances.
Iamque **iter** effectum, iamque in sua litora fessis puppibus exierant, cum rex Pandione natam in **stabula alta** trahit, **silvis** obscura **vetustis**… (*M.* 6.519-521)	Now the journey was complete; now they had disembarked from the tired ships and onto their native shores, when the king dragged the daughter of Pandion into the high stables, hidden in the old forests…

Throughout the opening of the Philomela narrative, Ovid makes an explicit allusion to the Vergilian passage, placing the eventual rape of Philomela in a similar location to that in which Vergil's tree-felling took place.[378] However, this allusion seems to be misplaced or frustrated because of the lack of narrative commonalities, and one is tempted to

[377] For more on *aemulatio* in Latin poetry, cf. Pasquali 1942 *passim*; Conte 1986 24-26; Hinds 1998 10-16. In addition, Giangrande 1967 85 forms his concept of *oppositio in imitando* on the back of *aemulatio,* likewise for Thomas 1986 171 and the type of reference he terms 'correction'.

[378] Cf. Rosati 2009 *ad M.* 6.521: "*in stabula . . . vetustis*: il luogo scelto da Tereo per lo stupor evoca risonanze sinister, legate al bosco che precede la discesa infernale di Enea (Virgilio, *Aen*. VI 179 *itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum*), e risulta quasi l'emblema del mondo 'selvaggio', di quanto di più remote dalla luce della civiltà (una sorta anti-Atene, come suggerisce il contrasto con *Pandione natam*), nonché figura degli obscuri abissi psichici di Tereo." ["The place chosen by Tereus for rape evokes sinister resonances, related to the forest before the infernal descent of Aeneas (Virgil, Aen. 179 VI *itur in antiquam silvam, stabula high ferarum*), and is nearly the emblem of the 'wild' world, how much more remote from the light of civilization (a sort anti-Athens, as suggested by the contrast with *Pandione natam*) and figure of the dark depths of Tereus' psyche."]

consider this an example of Richard Thomas' 'apparent reference'.[379] Yet, although there is no tree-felling occurring in the Philomela episode, there is a type of rape occurring in the Vergilian episode, as Aeneas and his men are 'raping' a natural location by felling trees. Moreover, issues of civilization and barbarity have been identified as key concepts undergirding both the Philomela narrative and Vergil's poetry as a whole.[380] Therefore, such a similarity in thematic conflict can partially explain Ovid's choice to allude to this Vergilian passage, but not completely. Latin literature – and Vergil's corpus – is littered with examples of the issue of civilization vs. barbarity, so why did Ovid choose this particular one?

Perhaps the answer lies not on the narrative level, but on the level of intertext. As we discussed in Chapter 2 and throughout this chapter, the character of Philomela was a close analog to that of the poet. She wove her tale as a poet would and professed the ability of her telling-powers as a poet would. Therefore, as a poet-character she provides a compelling comparison to Vergil because, as Vergil's acts of allusion portray him as a powerful poet, Philomela's rape and loss of speech emphasize the very powerlessness of her poetry.

To take this one step further, let us consider when the Philomela narrative in the *Metamorphoses* was composed. It is now generally accepted that portions of the *Metamorphoses* were composed by Ovid in exile, but it is still unclear which ones.[381] Yet, if the Philomela episode is one that was composed in exile (which is likely due to the

[379] Thomas 1986 190 defines an apparent reference as "a context which seems clearly to recall a specific model but which on closer investigation frustrates that expectation."
[380] For Vergil: Thomas 1998 18-24; Thomas 1982 38-50; Putnam 1975; Ross 1987 115-119. For the Philomela narrative: Rosati 2009 316-322; Gildenhard and Zissos 2007
[381] Hinds 1987 10ff., 137n23; Wickiser 1999.

themes of isolation and speech loss that, as we have seen, are prevalent in the exile literature as a whole), the character of Philomela could be seen as an analog to Ovid himself: forcefully taken to Thrace by an overzealous ruler who, in Ovid's eyes, abused him and relegated him to a life of voicelessness and isolation.

If we can make that step, it is appealing to read the intertext between Vergil and Ovid as a commentary by Ovid on the effect of exile on his poetry. By drawing explicit attention to a passage in which allusion emphasizes Vergil's poetic power, Ovid can compare the effect that his exile at the hands of Augustus had on his own poetic power. This allusive chain is then activated again in the passage from *Ex Ponto* 1.3 with which we began our discussion of allusion:

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos ducit et inmemores non sinit esse sui. Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius? Huc tamen ex ista barbarus urbe fugit. Cum bene sit clausae cauea **Pandione natae**, nititur in siluas illa redire suas. Adsuetos tauri saltus, adsueta leones – nec feritas illos inpedit – antra petunt. (*T.* 1.3.35-42)	By some sweetness one's native land leads back everyone and does not allow them to forget it. What is better than Rome? What is worse than the Scythian cold? Yet, hither a barbarian flees from that city. Although it fares well for the daughter of Pandion, locked up in a cage, she strives to return to her forests. Bulls seek their accustomed glades, lions their accustomed caves – and their fierceness does not prevent them.

The exile alludes to the Philomela episode not merely to draw a narrative link between his situation and that of Philomela, but to draw an intertextual link between exile's effect on his poetry and on Ovid's. Like Ovid, the exile's poetic ability has been compromised, and two terms serve to make this clear: *silvas* and *cavea*. The term *silvas* needs no further elucidation, as it is an allusive link to both Ovid and Vergil, and refers to its metaphorical meaning as 'raw' poetic material. *Cavea*, although carrying a basic

meaning of 'cage', also can refer to the performance space of a theater.[382] Moreover, throughout the exile literature, the exile makes consistent reference to his performance in Getic and Sarmatian contexts, many times expressing his displeasure.[383] If *cavea* is read as referring to the theater instead of a cage, combined with the metaphoric meaning of *silvas*, the line can be interpreted to express the dissatisfaction of the exile with his relegation to a foreign stage. Although he longs to return to his native poetic fields (*suas silvas*), he must be content performing on a foreign stage (*cavea*).

Therefore, as I hope to have shown, the exile, after losing his speech in a manner similar to that of characters in the *Metamorphoses*, exists in a state of speechlessness and isolation. Again, Ovid uses characters, such as Philomela, to act as analogs to the exile and colors the exile's situation with the same brush he used to portray transformed characters in the *Metamorphoses*. Yet, although Ovid uses much of the same vocabulary to draw attention to this relationship, his poetic method goes far beyond the reuse of terminology, but is a dynamic web of allusions and intertexts. Still, all of these methods are employed to a single end: to correlate of the exile's state to that in which transformed characters are trapped. Isolated and speechless, the exile constantly searches for ways to be heard. In the end, he comes to the same conclusion as Io and Philomela: the written medium. Thus, it is to the exile's use of writing to mediate his social and linguistic isolation that I will now turn.

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[382] *OLD ad cavea*: "**The part of the theatre in which spectators sat, spectators' seats or benches**" Plaut. Am. prol. 66; Cic. Lael. 7, 24; Lucr. 4, 78; Verg. A. 5, 340; 8, 636; on account of the ascending rows of benches, *ima* or *prima*, "**the seat of the nobility, media and summa or ultima, the seat of the lower classes**", Cic. Sen. 14, 48; Suet. Aug. 44; id. Claud. 21; Sen. Tranq. 11: CAV. II., Inscr. Orell. 2539; cf. Dict. of Antiq. "**The theatre in gen.**", Plaut. Truc. 5, 1. 39; Cic. Leg. 2, 15, 38. "**The spectators**", Stat. Th. 1, 423.

[383] *T*. 3.14.48; *P*. 4.13.19-22.

Littera Pro Verba: The Written Medium as Mediating Device

At the beginning of *P.* 2.6, the exile explicitly describes the relationship between his exilic situation and the act of writing:

Carmine Graecinum, qui praesens uoce solebat, tristis ab Euxinis Naso salutat aquis. **Exulis haec uox est**: praebet mihi littera linguam et, si non liceat scribere, mutus ero. (*P.* 2.6.1-4)	With a song from the Euxine sea, sad Naso greets Graecinus, who was accustomed to be present in voice. This is the voice of the exile: letters offer a tongue to me and, if it were not allowed to write, I would be mute.

In these lines, the exile calls to mind many of the speechless situations in the *Metamorphoses*. As in the Echo narrative, in which Ovid emphasized the distinction between articulate (*vocare*) and inarticulate (*sonare*) sounds, the exile describes an Echo-like voice.[384] Because of his isolation, the exile does not have a true *vox*, over which he has total control. Instead, he must rely on a surrogate *vox* dependent upon the written word. The written word is able to provide the exile with a *lingua*, the physical seat of articulate speech, the very appendage that was taken from Philomela to start her voicelessness. Yet, without writing, the exile would be relegated to a state of *mutus*, a term that we have seen has strong associations with the non-human and non-communal.[385]

As such, the exile calls attention to the intention behind the adoption of the written word: in a similar situation to that of a transformed charactered from the *Metamorphoses*, the exile is attempting to write his way out of voicelessness, following

[384] See Chapter 2 above.
[385] See Chapter 1 above.

the pattern set forth by Philomela and Io. The close correspondance between the exile and these characters is made even more explicit in *P.* 1.7:

Littera pro uerbis tibi, Messaline, salutem
quam legis a saeuis attulit usque Getis.
Indicat auctorem locus? An nisi nomine lecto
haec me Nasonem scribere uerba latet?
(*P.* 1.7.1-4)

A letter for words, Messalinus, has borne you the greetings, which you read, all the way from the savage Getes. Does the place identify the author? Or, unless the name has been read, does the fact that I, Naso, write these words escape you?

At the opening of this letter to Messalinus, the exile describes his writing as *littera pro verbis* and wonders whether or not the addressee would recongize who had sent the letter if the name were not included. The phrase *littera pro verbis* is telling, however, as it alludes back to the type of writing used by Io to identify herself to her family:[386]

illa manus lambit patriisque dat oscula palmis
nec retinet lacrimas et, si modo verba sequantur,
oret opem nomenque suum casusque loquatur;
littera pro verbis, quam pes in pulvere duxit,
corporis indicium mutati triste peregit.
(*M.* 1.646-50)

She licks his hands and gives kisses to fatherly palms; she cannot hold back tears and, if only words would follow, she would beg for help and state her name and misfortunes; letters for words, which her foot traced in the sand, drew out the sad symbol of her changed body.

Like Io, who used her writing as an attempt to describe the *triste indicium* of her misfortune, the exile writes his letters in an attempt to describe the misfortunes of his exile. Moreover, the exile's line of questioning regarding his name and his ultimate

[386] Forbis 1997 261: "Compare *littera pro verbis* in the same metrical position at *Metamorphoses* 1.649, when Io traces her name in the dust to identify herself to her father Inachus. Both Inachus and Messalinus from their civilized perspectives read words from uncivilized sources: Io trapped in a beast's body, and Ovid trapped among the *saevi Getae*."

statement of the name *Naso* correlates to the traditional interpretation that the *indicium* traced by Io was, in fact, her name.[387]

What these two excerpts from the *Ex Ponto* highlight is the emphasis placed on writing throughout the exile literature. In fact, the act of writing in the exile literature has long been commented upon by scholars. Nagle 1980 associated Ovid's interest in writing with the concepts of *utilitas* and *gloria*, arguing that the exile was writing 1) "as a means to an end, to influence others and thus obtain a transfer or recall from exile", 2) "for its immediate effect, as an ends in itself", and 3) as a means of garnering further poetic reputation.[388] Williams 1994 read Ovid's writing as a means through which the exile could represent the slippage of his poetic ability, as the "weight of his *mala* crushes his *ingenium*, depriving it of creative vitality [and creating] the lack of polish and correction in his verse."[389] Cherbuliez 2005, taking a different angle, understood the emphasis on writing as a metaphor for the critique critique of authority.[390]

These discussions, and all those studies like them, however, focus on the larger questions of why Ovid the creator-poet decided to focus on the theme of writing. Our discussion instead is looking to how the act of writing fits into the pattern of 'speech loss-

[387] For Io writing her name, see Bömer *ad M.* 1.649; Barchiesi *ad M.* 1.649-52; Hardie 2002 253.
[388] Nagle 1980 71ff.
[389] Williams 1994 50ff.
[390] Cherbuliez 2005 110ff.: "It is through Ovid that 'carmen' is forever linked to 'crimen'; literature cannot be other than contestatory no matter what the protestations of innocence and pledges of submission it contains. Henceforth, and often through Ovid explicitly, the act of writing is always associated with a marginal and therefore a priviledged position for the critique of authority. The attendant fantasy of the lone writer, indeed the lover-writer, remains an anchor for how we understand the contours of state authority as they conflict with conventions of individual human rights. Tracing the edges of the polis, the writer either as person or as producer of texts, designates, describes, and defines the limits of state sovereignty. In a cultural environment where state sovereignty has not yet butted up against the concept of individual sovereignty, let alone the idea of human rights, the status of the marginal poet is especially critical to cultural confrontations with authority."

community loss-mediating writing' and not into the larger poetics of the topos of writing in the exile literature. In essence, in this section we are looking at what the exile does on the narrative level and not at what larger literary or political aims Ovid may have had by using writing. That broader, more overarching level will be discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the issue of why Ovid the creator-poet employed a pattern of speech loss from the *Metamorphoses* to describe the exilic condition.

On the narrative level of the exile, one particular aspect of the act of writing in the exile literature concerns us here: the writing of epistles.[391] Having been stripped of speech and isolated from community, the exile follows the lead of characters, such as Philomela and Io, and attempts to use epistolography as his means of reconnecting with his lost community. Therefore, each one of the poems in both *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* is set up as a poetic epistle to friends and family of the exile in Rome. Moreover, as noted by Evans 1983, the progression of epistolary form from the *Tristia* to the *Ex Ponto* dramatizes the increasing immediacy of the exile's condition: the poems move from a collection of *privata carmina* for unspecified addressees in *Tristia* 1-4 to *publica carmina* (*T.* 5.1.23) for unspecified addressees in *Tristia* 5 to finally a collection of public letters for specific and named addressees (*P.* 1.17-18: *et epistula cui sit / non occultato nomine missa docet*) in *Ex Ponto* 1-3.[392]

[391] On epistolary markers in the exile poetry see Stroh 1981 2640-44. Kennedy 2002 gives an excellent overview of Ovidian epistolarity in general.

[392] Evans 1983 171-174. The notable exception to this scheme is *Trisita* 2, a literary epistle addressed to Augustus. Likewise, the nature of *Ex Ponto* 4 and the manner in which it would have fit into this scheme is unknown, as that book is merely a collection of exilic poems in no discernible order that were left by Ovid upon his death.

As can be thus observed from the construction of this portion of the exilic corpus, epistolography is fundamental to understanding the characterization of the exile and the exile's writing. This section, therefore, will focus on how the use of epistolography to describe the exile's writing aims to mediate the exile's speech loss and to allow him to communicate with his lost community, completing the exilic version of the pattern Ovid developed in the *Metamorphoses*. First, we shall consider the how the epistolary form is the ideal *modus loquendi* for an individual suffering from physical speech loss by discussing how the epistle was seen as a surrogate for speech, an actual *littera pro verbis* in ancient epistolographic tradition. Then, we shall explore how the use of the epistolographic form is employed to describe the plight of the exile and to identify the exact nature of this communication with friends and family. Finally, we shall conclude our conversation about epistolography with a discussion of the audience of the letters to determine whether or not the exile, like Philomela or Io, was successful in his attempts to reconnect.

Letters as Conversation: Ancient Epistolographic Tradition

In his use of the epistolary form in the exile literature, Ovid depicts the exile's attempts at writing within the traditional boundaries of epistolographic convention and uses that tradition to emphasize the relationship between the exile's letters and his speech loss. In particular, Ovid calls attention to two aspects of epistolographic tradition: 1) the letter as one half of a conversation spoken at distance, and 2) the letter as a symbol of the physical presence of the author. Both of these theoretical aspects serve to connect the

exile both verbally and physically with his lost community: through letters not only is he able to communicate his identity to his community, but he is also able to gain a surrogate voice.

Turning to the letter as conversation first, ancient epistolary tradition defined a letter as a half of a dialogue and a medium through which an individual could have a conversation with an absent friend as though s/he were present.[393] Examples from the letters of Cicero and Seneca the Younger bear this out, as well as those from the, albeit much later, epistolary handbook of Pseudo-Libanius:

Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut **certiores faceremus absentis** si quid esset quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. (Cicero, *ad Fam*. 2.4.1)	You are not ignorant that there are many types of letters, but also one in particular, for which reason the whole business was invented, namely that we might make those absent more certain, if anything happened that was important for them or for ourselves to know.
tamen adlevor cum **loquor** tecum **absens**, multo etiam magis cum tuas litteras lego. (Cicero, *ad Atticum*, 12.39.2)	Yet, I am cheered when I, though absent, speak with you, much more than even when I read your letters.
Minus tibi accuratas a me epistulas mitti quereris. Quis enim accurate **loquitur** nisi qui vult putide loqui? Qualis **sermo** meus esset si una desideremus aut ambularemus, inlaboratus et facilis, tales esse epistulas meas volo, quae nihil habent accersitum nec fictum. (Seneca the Younger, *Epistles* 75.1)	You complain that letters sent to you by me are rather carelessly written. Indeed, who talks carefully unless he also desires to talk pedantically? I prefer that my letters, which have nothing strained or artificial about them, should be just like what my conversation would be if you and I were sitting together or walking together, spontaneous and relaxed.
Φιλική. Γνησίων εὐπορήσας γραμματηφόρων ἐσπούδασα τὴν σὴν ἀγχίνοιαν **προσειπεῖν**. ὅσιον γὰρ ὑπάρχει τοὺς γνησίους φίλους παρόντας μὲν τιμᾶν, **ἀπόντας δὲ προσερεῖν**. (Pseudo-Libanius, *Epistolary Characters* 2.58)	The friendly type: As I have noble letter-carriers at hand, I hasten to address your shrewdness. For it is a holy thing to be ready to honor noble friends who are present, and to speak with those who are not.

[393] Malherbe 12; Stowers 1986 60, 62, 68-69, 157; Cugusi 1983 32-34. Cf. Cic *Phil.* 2.7, *Q. fr.* 2.10.1; Ambr *Epist*. 47.4; Synes *Epist.* 138; Quin *Inst* 9.4.19; Jul Vict p. 447, 36 Halm; Demetrius 5; Nicol. *Progymn.* 11.3; Q. Cic. *Fam.* 16.16.2; Sidon. *Epist.* 7.18.2.

In all three of these examples, the letter form is described as a means of communicating with another person; for Cicero it is a way to make the absent understand what is going on in their absence (*certiores faceremus absentis*). Yet, beyond a simple communicative device, the letter is described as an actual, *spoken* conversation (*cum loquor tecum absens*). For Seneca, a letter is a *sermo* in which he should speak (*loquitur*) as if he were conversing with someone in person. Pseudo-Libanius, in his handbook of epistolary forms, combines the Ciceronian and Senecan concepts and asserts that an ἐπιστολή is an manner of verbally speaking to absent ones (προσειπεῖν; ἀπόντας δὲ προσερεῖν).

In addition to being considered as a surrogate for speech, the epistolary form could also be conceived of as a symbol for selfhood, a parchmentlike personification of one's very identity.[394] In this sense, sending an addressee a letter was akin to sending a piece of yourself to them; the remnants of your touch, smell, and handwriting creating the illusion that you yourself are present. Consider these examples:

Quod frequenter mihi scribis, gratias ago. Nam quo uno modo potes, te mihi ostendis. Numquam epistulam tuam accipio, ut non protinus una simus. Si imagines nobis amicorum absentium iucundae sunt, quae memoriam renovant et desiderium falso atque inani solacio levant, quanto iucundiores sunt litterae, **quae vera amici absentis vestigia, veras notas adferunt**? (Sen. *Epis.* 40.1)	I thank you for writing to me so often; for you are revealing your real self to me in the only way you can. I never receive a letter from you without being in your company at once. If the pictures of our absent friends are pleasing to us, though they only refresh the memory and lighten our longing by a solace that is unreal and unsubstantial, how much more pleasant is a letter, which brings us real traces, real evidences, of an absent friend?
complexus igitur **sum** cogitatione **te absentem**, epistulam vero osculatus etiam ipse mihi gratulatus sum. (Cic *ad Fam.* 3.11.2)	Therefore, I embraced you, absent, in my mind, and truly also rejoiced in the letter.

[394] Stowers 1986 29, 35, 38, 58-60, 65-69, 78, 144; Cugusi 1983 33-34.

Seneca, writing to Lucilius, describes the letter that he received as containing traces of an absent friend (*amici absentis vestigia*). For him, the letter was a personification of the sender due to the fact that it contained physical traces of the sender within it. The conception of letter-as-self is made even clearer in the Ciceronian passage, as Cicero equates the letter he received (*epistulam*) with the actual person who sent it (*te absentem*). Both of these examples are indicative of the way in which the physical letter was conceived of in antiquity.[395]

The concept of letter-as-self is also of utmost importance to the exile throughout all of the *Tristia*. In the opening poems of both Book 1 and Book 3, the exile describes how he, as a poet, can return to Rome in the form of his *libellus* and how its metrical foot can go where the exile's human foot cannot.

uade, liber, uerbisque meis loca grata saluta: contingam certe quo licet illa pede. (*T.* 1.1.15-16)	Go, book, greet places accepting of my words: those places where it is certainly permitted for me to touch with my foot.
Aspicis exsangui chartam pallere colore? Aspicis alternos intremuisse pedes? (*T.* 3.1.55-6)	Do you see the paper pale with bloodless color? Do you see that its alternating feet have been trembling?
Altera templa peto, uicino iuncta theatro: haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis. (*T.* 3.1.69-70)	I seek other temples, joined to the nearby theater: these also ought not to have been traversed by my feet.

Likewise, in a letter to Ovid's stepdaughter, the exile employs the same concept of letter-as-self, but in this instance Perilla actually responds to the letter's arrival as if the exile were there in person, and even engages in *sermonibus* with the letter:

[395] Malherbe 1988 12.

Vade salutatum, subito perarata, Perillam,
littera, **sermonis** fida ministra mei.
Aut illam inuenies dulci cum matre sedentem,
aut inter libros Pieridasque suas.
Quicquid aget, **cum te scierit uenisse**, relinquet,
nec mora, quid uenias quidue, **requiret**, agam.
(*T.* 3.7.1-6)

Go, quickly scribbled letter, loyal servant of my conversations, to greet Perilla. Either you will find her sitting with her sweet mother, or among books and her Muses. Whatever she is doing, when she knows you have come, she will stop and, without delay, will inquire why you came and how I am doing.

In addition to the traditional aspects of epistolography linking the exile's writing with the recovery of a surrogate voice and a metaphorical means through which he could mediate his isolation from community, the audience to which the exile's writings were sent can also speak to such an attempt to reconnect with community. In the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, there are four major groups of identified addressees: 1) members of the exile's poetic community; 2) members of the exile's family; 3) generic friends and enemies; and 4) Augustus. All of these groups have one common denominator: their connection to the exile's poetry. Whereas the members of the exile's community and generic friends and enemies have clear associations with the exile's poetry either through membership in a poetic circle or as *topoi* in literary letters,[396] the relationship between the two remaining groups, the exile's family and Augustus himself, and poetry are less clear-cut.

To take the relationship between Augustus and poetry first: in the exile's literary epistle to the *princeps*, *Tristia* 2, one of the overarching themes is Augustus' poor understanding of poetry and particularly Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.[397] As Fulkerson 2005 has

[396] For more on the stock nature of the good and bad friend, as well as the enemy in literary letters, see Williams 1994 and Rosenmeyer 2006.
[397] Fulkerson 2005 149ff.; Gibson 1999; Barchiesi 1993; Nugent 1990 248-253.

observed: "Ovid makes fun of the emperor's naïve but dogmatic insistence that literature serve as a model for real life, that fiction matters. We may, in fact, find Ovid's Augustus comically reminiscent of his Phyllis in their mutual inability to distinguish between truth and fiction" (149-150). Therefore, on the most basic level of reasons for the composition of *Tristia* 2, poetry and poetic composition play a major role.

Likewise, the presence of the exile's family can be read as having an even more direct relationship with poetry. The two family members with whom the exile communicates are his step-daughter Perilla (*T.* 3.7) and his wife (*T.* 1.6, 3.3, 4.3, 5.2, 5.5, 5.11, 5.14; *P.* 1.4, 3.1). Perilla, in addition to being a member of the exile's family, is also a poetess, and the content of *T.* 3.7 is focused entirely on the concept of poetic fame: although old age will soon come, poetic talent and inspiration are immortal (*T.* 3.7.33-54).[398] The poetic nature of this letter to Perilla, therefore, is quite clear. The connection between the exile's wife and poetry is somewhat less so. Recently, analyses of the exile's wife have followed the same lines as scholarship on the exile literature more broadly, shifting from a more historical (Helzle 1989) to a more literary (Reeber 2014; Petersen 2005; Hinds 1999) angle. Instead of associating the exile's wife with one of Ovid's actual, historical wives, recent scholarship has increasingly identified the wife as an amalgam of elegiac personae: the fickle *puella*, the elegiac *domina*, and the *matrona*.[399] Moreover, Reeber 2014 has gone so far as to equate the wife with a metaphorical representation of a physical and literary *corpus* in the same way Wyke 2002 described

[398] Perilla, in addition, may be a literary creation to some extent, as well; for she shares the name of a famous elegiac mistress (cf. *T.* 2.437-8). The *communis opinio* is that she was Ovid's stepdaughter (cf. Wheeler 1925; Harrison 2002). However, other explanations have been put forward (cf. Luck 1977 199).
[399] Petersen 2005.

Cynthia in Propertius.[400] As such, the group of addressees known as the exile's family may more accurately be subsumed under the group of members of the exile's poetic community: Perilla is literally a *sodalis* in that community and the wife is a metaphor for the exile's poetic contribution to that community.

Therefore, all of the writings that make up the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* are rooted in poetry in some fashion. Such a concerted emphasis on a poetic community consequently leads to the question of why and how the exile was attempting to use his writing to reconnect with that community. Whereas Philomela and Io used their writing to mediate the distance between themselves and their families, the exile chooses instead to reconnect with his poetic community. Due to his consistent self-identification as a poet, the exile's choice to focus on his poetic community over his familial is not troubling, but the exact nature of his reconnection with the poetic community and its relationship to our pattern of 'speech loss - community loss - reconnection through writing' leaves much to be desired.

However, a recent discussion of poetic communities in Gurd 2012 may provide us with a means of exploring the relationship between the exile and his communication with his poetic community. In his analysis, Gurd argues that the act of literary revision was a form of social performance in the late Republic and the early Principate. For Cicero, the act of revision – and even the discussion of that act – was a means by which a literary

[400] Reeber 2014 [Abstract] "Ovid's third wife is a prominent figure throughout the *Tristia*, as the addressee of seven poems and the subject of long passages in many others. In this paper I argue that 1.6, the first of Ovid's poetic epistles to his wife, makes use of specific generic markers to invite an identification of the woman with the work: **just as the elegiac mistress of his earlier work came to represent both a physical and literary *corpus* (Wyke), so too does Ovid's wife ultimately amount to a metaliterary stand-in for Ovid's poetry. What appears to be a straightforward poetic tribute to his wife's loyalty thus becomes a hyper-elegiac exploration of the poet's contradictory feelings about his own earlier work, the *carmen* that came to be an *error***" (emphasis mine).

republic could be created: the texts, products of multiple hands, embody the concerns not only of their original authors, but also those of entire communities of revision.[401] Moreover, the process of revision substantiated and sustained the community; for, "once the [revised product] has been achieved, there is no life in [the act of revision] any more; community consists not in having debated but in actually debating" (Gurd 49). Gurd then traces the various reactions to this idea of communal revision in the subsequent works of Horace and Pliny, arguing that

> Horace's *Epistles* crossbreed the conventions of the letter with those of satire, and his *Satires* play with intimate confession in a way that is cognate to, if not dependent on, the familiar epistle; Pliny's *Epistles* themselves combine self-presentation in staged moments of epistolary familiarity with the artful design of the Hellenistic poetry book (127).

In other words, both Horace and Pliny respond to Cicero's scheme in different manners: Horace took Cicero's emphasis on egalitarian revision and turned it into an imbalanced relationship between poet and reviser in which the poet always fell short of the reviser's expectations and dwelt on his failures in composition; Pliny, on the other hand, continued Cicero's insistence on a community of revision, but does not extend that community into the political realm as an opposing scheme to autocracy, instead choosing to create a literary community that exists alongside the political.

Regardless of the angles taken by these three authors, the common denominator of revision as a means of community building has strong resonances in Ovid's exile literature. For throughout the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, the exile makes constant references to his participation in revision both past and present. Therefore, against the background

[401] Gurd 127.

of Gurd's concept of 'communities of revision', the exile's repeated letters to his poetic community and his emphasis on the process of revising poetry can be read as an attempt to use his writing to reconnect himself with a poetic community, and, more specifically, a community of poetic revision.

A clear instance of the exile's attempts to re-establish a presence in a community of revision can be seen at the end of *Tristia* 1.7, a poem written to an unnamed poet or member of a poetic community (*sodalis,* 10) in which the exile apologizes for the 'unfinished' state of his *Metamorphoses*:

ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud,
    defuit et coeptis ultima lima meis.
et ueniam pro laude peto, laudatus abunde,
    non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.
hos quoque sex uersus, in prima fronte libelli
    si praeponendos esse putabis, habe:
'orba parente suo quicumque uolumina tangis,
    his saltem uestra detur in urbe locus.
quoque magis faueas, non haec sunt edita ab ipso,
    sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
quicquid in his igitur uitii rude carmen habebit,
    emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.'
(*T.* 1.7.29-40)

That work was borne off while still on the anvil, and the final polish for my undertakings was lacking. I seek forgiveness in place of praise, and I will be praised abundantly if you do not scorn me, reader. Affix these six verses on the front of that little book if you think they are worthy: 'You who touch these volumes, bereft of their sire, at least let a place in your city be given to these. May you favor them all the more, since they were not edited by the begetter himself, but were snatched away as if from their master's corpse. Therefore, whatever fault this rough work may have, I'd have amended it, if I'd been allowed.'

In these lines, the exile writes to a *sodalis,* a member of poetic community – most likely of the exile's lost community – and provides a revision for his earlier *Metamorphoses* along with the reasons why such revision is necessary. Yet, it is not the quality of the work that concerns the exile here, but the yearning for participation in a poetic community.

This distinction is made earlier in the poem, when the exile bestows upon his work a sort of canonical status, describing how he tried to destroy the text on his way to death in exile; however, the texts were not totally destroyed because other copies already existed:

haec ego discedens, sicut bene multa meorum,
ipse mea posui maestus in igne manu.
utque cremasse suum fertur sub stipite natum
Thestias et melior matre fuisse soror,
sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos
imposui rapidis uiscera nostra rogis:
uel quod eram Musas, ut crimina nostra, perosus,
uel quod adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat.
quae quoniam non sunt penitus sublata, sed extant
(pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor)
(*T.* 1.7.13-24)

Leaving, I mournfully threw it on the fire with my own hands, like so many other things of mine. As Althaea, they say, burning the brand, burned her son, and proved a better sister than a mother, so I threw the innocent books, which had to die with me, my vital parts, on the devouring pyre: either because I detested the Muses, my accusers, or because the poem was stull growing and unfinished. The verses were not totally destroyed: they survive – several copies of the writings, I think, were made –
(*trans. Kline*)

Two things must be noted here. First, there is possible allusion to the famous tradition of Vergil and his attempt to burn the *Aeneid* on his deathbed.[402] Although it is uncertain how early that tradition came into being, it is enticing to read this passage against that tradition;[403] for if Ovid is alluding to the Vergilian tradition here, he is coopting for his

[402] This was first pointed out by Hinds 1985. The tradition is most clearly articulated by Aelius Donatus, *Vita Vergilii* 39-41: ***Egerat cum Vario, priusquam Italia decederet, ut siquid sibi accidisset, Aeneida combureret****; at is facturum se pernegarat; igitur in extrema valetudine assidue scrinia desideravit, crematurus ipse; verum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cavit. Ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legavit, ne quid ederent, quod non a se editum esset. Edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui* ***versus etiam inperfectos sicut erant reliquerit****.*

[403] The earliest extant text with the traditional story is Pliny the Elder (77-78 CE): *carmina Vergilii cremari contra testament eius verecundiam vetuit* (*NH* 7.11). The most famous account of this is Donatus' from the mid-4th century CE. There is a debate over whether or not Donatus took the story from a lost work of Suetonius (69?-130? CE). Moreover, there is even more debate as to what Suetonius' sources may have been. Suggestions include Asconius Pedianus (9 BCE – 76 CE) and Varius Rufus (74 BCE – 14 BCE), who was intimately involved in the traditional story. For a more detailed discussion, see Stok 2010 107-120.

Metamorphoses the same canonical status by creating a similar tradition.[404] Moreover, such an adoption of canonical status would place the *Metamorphoses* on the level of immortal poetry, as an *opus quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas* (*M.* 15.871-2), which he had professed it to be at the end of the work. Second, the canonical tradition includes a statement that multiple copies survived (*pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor*). This means that the work was popular enough to be circulating, but also possibly that there may have been multiple editions of revision.[405] In either case, the mention of copies seems to presuppose the exile's activity in a poetic community.

So, through the mention of a canonical tradition of the *Metamorphoses*, the exile accomplishes two things: he depicts his previous involvement with a literary group and asserts that his work was good enough to stand beside the *Aeneid*. With this in mind, the mention of revision and the new lines to be affixed to the *Metamorphoses* are not made because of a lack of quality in the work, but in an attempt to recover the community of revision lost by the exile.

Such reminiscences of the exile about past communities of revision can also be found throughout the exile literature, and frequently they are deployed to exhort members of those communities to reconnect and to include the exile in their circles in the present, as well. In such instances, the exile first recalls for his addressees a past time in which

[404] Stok 111.

[405] The term *exemplum* is regularly employed by Cicero in his letters. Cf. Cic *Fam.* 3.3.2; 6.8.3; 6.18.2; 8.1.1; 9.14.8; 9.26.1; *Att.* 3.8.4; 5.11.6; 7.23.3; 8.2.2; 8.6.1-3; 8.11.3; 8.12.6; 8.15.3; 9.7.1; 9.9.3; 9.11.2-4; 9.12.1; 9.13.1; 9.14.1; 10.3.2; 10.9.3; 11.7.2; 12.18.2; 12.37.1; 12.44.3; 13.6.3; 13.26.2; 13.46.5; 13.50.1; 13.51.1; 14.13.6; 14.17.8; 14.19.1; 14.21.1; 15.14.1; 15.26.2; 15.28.1; 16.4.1; 16.12.1; 16.15.3; 16.16.1

they had engaged in a community of revision together. In *P*. 2.4, the exile reminds Atticus of their poetic connection:

Ante oculos nostros posita est tua semper imago
et uideor uultus mente uidere tuos.
Seria multa mihi tecum conlata recordor
nec data iucundis tempora pauca iocis.
Saepe citae longis uisae sermonibus horae,
saepe fuit breuior quam mea uerba dies.
Saepe tuas uenit factum modo carmen ad auris
et noua iudicio subdita Musa tuo est.
Quod tu laudaras, populo placuisse putabam
—hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat—
utque meus lima rasus liber esset amici,
non semel admonitu facta litura tuo est.
(*P*. 2.4.7-18)

Your image is always in front of my eyes, and I seem to see your features in my mind. I remember many deep talks you and I had, and more than a few hours of playful fun. Often hours of lengthy talk passed swiftly, often the day was briefer than my words. Often you listened to a freshly made poem, a new Muse was submitted to your criticism. I considered the public pleased, if you praised: that was the sweet prize of the critic's affection. More than once I've edited it, on your advice, so my work might be smoothed by a friendly file.
(*trans. Kline*)

Similarly, he enjoins the poet Tuticanus in *P*. 4.12:

tibi carmina mittam,
paene mihi puero cognite paene puer,
perque tot annorum seriem quot habemus uterque
non mihi quam fratri frater amate minus.
Tu bonus hortator, tu duxque comesque fuisti,
cum regerem tenera frena nouella manu.
Saepe ego correxi sub te censore libellos,
saepe tibi admonitu facta litura meo est,
dignam Maeoniis Phaeacida condere chartis
cum te Pieriae perdocuere deae.
Hic tenor, haec uiridi concordia coepta iuuenta
uenit ad albentis inlabefacta comas.
Quae nisi te moueant, duro tibi pectora ferro
esse uel inuicto clausa adamante putem.
Sed prius huic desint et bellum et frigora terrae,
inuisus nobis quae duo Pontus habet,
et tepidus Boreas et sit praefrigidus Auster,
et possit fatum mollius esse meum
quam tua sint lasso praecordia dura **sodali**.
(*P*. 4.12.19-37)

I'll sing to you in some measure, send you a song, you, known to me, barely a lad, when you were barely a lad, and, through the ranks of all the many years we've seen, no less beloved by me than brother by brother. When I first controlled the reins, in my weak grasp, you were kind encouragement, my friend and guide. I often revised my works with you acting as critic, I often made changes based on your suggestions, while the Muses, those Pierian goddesses, taught you how to compose a Phaeacis worthy of Homer's pages. This steady path, this harmony begun in green youth, has extended undiminished to white-haired age. If that didn't move you, I'd think you'd a heart encased in hard iron or unbreakable steel. But this land will sooner be free of war and cold, the two things hateful Pontus offers me, sooner might north winds be warm, south winds cold, and my fate have the power to be gentler, than your heart be harsh to your weary friend.
(*trans. Kline*)

And again, the exile reminds Messallinus of their past engagement in poetic revision, this time in multiple locations, but always with the same refrain:

quo vereare minus ne sim tibi crimen amicus,
    invidiam, siqua est, auctor habere potest.
nam tuus est primis cultus mihi semper ab annis—
    hoc certe noli dissimulare—pater,
ingeniumque meum (potes hoc meminisse) probabat
    plus etiam quam me iudice dignus eram;
deque meis illo referebat versibus ore,
    in quo pars magnae nobilitatis erat.
(*T.* 4.4.25-32)

Don't fear lest my friendship with you be a crime, if there's any harm its author can be blamed. I always honoured your father from my earliest days - at least don't wish that fact to be concealed, and (you may remember) he approved my talent even more than, in my judgement, it deserved: he used to speak of my verse with that eloquence which was a part of his great nobility.
(*trans. Kline*)

Nec tuus est genitor nos infitiatus amicos,
    hortator studii causaque faxque mei,
cui nos et lacrimas, supremum in funere munus,
    et dedimus medio scripta canenda foro.
Adde quod est frater, tanto tibi iunctus amore
    quantus in Atridis Tyndaridisque fuit:
is me nec comitem nec dedignatus amicum est,
    si tamen haec illi non nocitura putas;
(*P.* 1.7.27-34)

Your father didn't repudiate my friendship, he, the spur, the torch, the reason for my studies: for whom I shed tears, the last gift to the dead, and wrote verses to be sung in the midst of the forum. And there's your brother, joined to you by as great a love as that which joined the sons of Atreus, or the Twins: he didn't disdain me as a friend and companion: if you don't think these words likely to harm him.
(*trans. Kline*)

In all of the above examples, the exile reminds the addressees of their previous engagement in poetic revision. He remembers the multiple times he submitted a new poem for Atticus to criticize and edit (*Saepe tuas uenit factum modo carmen ad auris / et noua iudicio subdita Musa tuo est*). Likewise, the exile reminds Tuticanus of how they used to write epic poetry (*Tu bonus hortator, tu duxque comesque fuisti, / cum regerem tenera frena nouella manu*.) and how he plans to continue to write such epic from exile (*tibi carmina mittam*). Both of these individuals are identified by the exile as his *sodales* (Atticus = *P.* 2.4.33; Tuticanus = *P.* 4.12.37), linking them to the exile in past communities of revision. In Messalinus' case, the relationship is different, but the

emphasis on community remains. Messallinus is not a *sodalis* of the exile, but the son of his literary patron, Messalla Corvinus. The exile reminds Messallinus of how Messalla Corvinus had nutured him (*ingeniumque meum probabat*) and had encouraged his studies (*hortator studii*), exhorting Messallinus to continue the patronage that his father had begun and to continue to include the exile in his literary circle.

After reminding the addressees of past poetic interaction, the exile then turns to the purpose of his letter: to urge them to continue that same interaction and to foster a community of revision with the newly exiled poet. The exile proclaims his faith that Tuticanus will never forsake him and will always be a *sodalis* through the use of *adunata* to describe things that would happen before Tuticanus would forget the exile.[406] Likewise, the same use of *adunata* is employed in regard to Atticus, as the exile states that days would be longer in the winter and Babylon would be colder than Pontus before Atticus would forget that the exile was his *sodalis* (*P.* 2.4.25-28). In Messallinus' case, the exile takes a more formal and reserved approach,[407] and, while appealing to Messallinus' sense of *officium*, explains logically that there is no danger in continuing to include him (*T.* 4.4.35-54).

Yet, perhaps the clearest and most vivid example of the exile's use of writing to return to the lost communities of revision comes in *P.* 3.5, a letter to Maximus Cotta. In the epistle, the exile thanks Cotta for sending him a copy of a speech he had recently delivered in Rome (ll. 5-12). After then bemoaning the fact that he had missed the

[406] The use of *adunata* is frequent in the exile literature. In fact, similar *adunata* are employed in a similar context in *T.* 1.8 and *P.* 2.4, both of which are addressed to Atticus. For more, see Williams 1994 119-122.
[407] Evans 1983 79-81.

opportunity to sit and hear the speech delivered in person, the exile bursts into a series of questions punctuated by imperatives and an anaphoric *ecquid*:

Dic tamen, o iuuenis studiorum plene meorum,
ecquid ab his ipsis admoneare mei.
Ecquid, ubi aut recitas factum modo carmen amicis
aut, quod saepe soles, exigis ut recitent,
quaeror, ut interdum tua mens, oblita quid absit,
nescioquid certe sentit abesse sui,
utque loqui multum de me praesente solebas,
nunc quoque Nasonis nomen in ore tuo est?
(*P*. 3.5.37-44)

But tell me, O youth, pregnant with my studies, if anything among them reminds you of me when you read your friends a new made poem, or, as you often used to, urge them to recite, do you sometimes think your mind, unsure what's missing, nevertheless feels that something is missing, and as you often used to talk about me, present, is Ovid's name on your lips, even now? (*trans. Kline*)

The exile's mind turns to an image of Cotta reciting poetry in a literary group, and the exile wonders if Cotta remembers the time when the exile was present in the group. The emotional use of *ecquid* and the rambling nature of a sentence pieced together over three couplets emphasize the exile's grief at the image of what he has lost. Instead of being present in a community of poets, the exile is left isolated and forced to read transcripts of what was occurring. Yet, he concludes with a reminder of how close writing letters to Cotta makes him feel to community:

Hac ubi perueni nulli cernendus in Vrbem,
saepe loquor tecum, saepe loquente fruor.
Tum mihi difficile est quam sit bene dicere quamque
candida iudiciis illa sit hora meis.
Tum me, si qua fides, caelesti sede receptum
cum fortunatis suspicor esse deis.
(*P*. 3.5.48-54)

When I enter the City in this [letter], unseen by all, I often speak with you, and enjoy your speech. I can't tell you then how blessed I am, and how bright that hour is to my mind. Then, if you can believe it, I dream I've been received in the heavenly realm, to exist among the happy gods.
(*trans Kline*)

Although isolated in body from his poetic community, the exile can overcome the isolation through speaking in letter form, *littera pro verbis*. Then, he can be a part of his

community, and, perhaps, Cotta may read some of the exile's poetry in the communal meetings.

As I hope to have shown, therefore, the use of letters in the exile literature acts as writing through which the exile can reconnect with his lost community, just as Philomela's tapestry or Io's markings did for them. The use of epistles as the means of mediating the distance between the exile and his lost community is especially appropriate because of the theoretical background of epistolography and because of the poetic audience to whom the letters were ostensibly addressed. In epistolographic tradition, the letter served as a suroggate voice, as one half of a vocal conversation held at a distance. In addition, letters were also seen as metaphors for the sender's body, as the letter brought actual markings made by the sender's person. In these ways, the letters were the most appropriate means to describe the exile's attempts to regain his voice and to reconnect with his community. Moreover, the poetic audience of the letters fits well when read against the use of literary revision as the creation of a poetic community at the time of Ovid's exile. By making reference to revision and even by sending revisions of previous poetry through his letters, the exile is attempting to reconnect with his community in another manner.

And so, the pattern that undergirded so many transformations in the *Metamorphoses* is brought to bear in the exile literature. Just as transformed characters lost the ability to speak, were isolated from their community, and attempted to reconnect with community through writing, so Ovid describes the exile as undergoing a transformation and speech loss in *Tristia* 1.3, struggling to negotiate his identity in the

wake of the loss of his community, and attempting to reconnect to his lost community through the writing of letters. Yet, one final question remains. Philomela and Io, the two characters from the *Metamorphoses* who employed writing to regain community, were successful in doing so and had their voice, identity, and community restored. Was the exile so lucky? Did his plan work?

The answer, it seems to me, is a qualified 'yes'. Although the exile never is successful in attaining a physical return to his community, he does find a voice through his letters and is successful in communicating with his community. As we have seen, on multiple occasions the exile refers to letters and copies of speeches he has received from members of his community in Rome.[408] Therefore, on some level, he is communicating with his poetic community. Moreover, the emphasis on poetry in the exile literature leads us to the conclusion that, perhaps, for the exile physical return was only part of the goal of his writing; for the manner in which he could interact with his poetic community was through his poetry itself. And, as we saw at the outset of this chapter, the role of the exile and the experiences through which Ovid puts him recreate the manner in which tales of exile are told. For Seneca and Martial, descriptions of exile took part of their cue from the experiences of Ovid's exile. Now, one need not push as far as Claassen 1998 does in saying that such allusions were made by Seneca and Martial because Ovid had invented a 'genre' of exile in which they were locating themselves. However, Ovid's description of exile did create a reformulation of the exilic experience that was centered to a large extent on the loss of speech, and, as Ingleheart 2011 and others have shown, the

[408] *T.* 4.7; 5.7, 5.11, 5.12, 5.13; *P.* 4.9

notion of speech loss became a much more dominant method of describing exile after Ovid. So, in this way, Ovid's exile has connected himself to a community of poets much larger than he perhaps intended; for his isolation and speech loss gave rise to a community of exiles described in those same terms. Yet, maybe that is exactly what he had in mind, as he always kept an eye to the continuance of his poetry into posterity and how it would be remembered. It is with this concept of poetic memory, therefore, that we shall conclude our discussion in the next chapter.

Chapter IV: Speech, Community and the Formation of Memory

> *Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam, quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae negligas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te flecti non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptate, eam, si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedet veritas, largiare. Quod si te adducemus, ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua . . . Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum . . . sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti atque in primis probati, ut mihi non solum praeconium . . . sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur.*[409]
>
> Cicero, *ad Familiares* 5.12.3, 7

> *felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos:*
> *fortunae memorem te decet esse meae.*[410]
>
> Ovid, *Tristia* 1.1.9-10

[409] "But anyhow, if a man has once transgressed the bounds of modesty, the best he can do is to be shameless out and out. So I frankly ask you again and again to eulogize my actions with even more warmth than perhaps you feel, and in that respect to disregard the canons of history; and—to remind you of that personal partiality, of which you have written most charmingly in a certain prefatory essay, clearly showing that you could have been as little swayed by it as Xenophon's famous Hercules by Pleasure, —if you find that such personal partiality enhances my merits even to exaggeration in your eyes, I ask you not to disdain it, and of your bounty to bestow on our love even a little more than may be allowed by truth. And if I can induce you to undertake what I suggest, you will, I assure myself, find a theme worthy even of your able and flowing pen . . . Again, it will more effectually conduce both to my happiness of mind and the dignity of my memory to have won a place in your history than in that of others, for this reason, that not only shall I have enjoyed the advantage of your literary talent, but also the moral authority of a man highly distinguished and of established reputation, one, moreover, recognized and approved as a leader of men in the greatest and gravest issues of public life so that it will appear that I have had vouchsafed me not only the celebrity but also the weighty testimony of a great and distinguished man." (trans. Williams)

[410] "These decorations adorn happy little books, but you are suitable as a memory of my fortune."

Over the past three chapters, I have explored a pattern of speech loss, community loss, and writing as a medium of reconnection that Ovid developed in the transformation narratives of the *Metamorphoses* and then employed in the exile literature to describe his exilic persona. Whenever a character undergoes a physical metamorphosis, s/he is rendered speechless, and that speechlessness compromises his/her ability to communicate identity and to connect with community. Two characters, however, are able to overcome this handicap through the written medium: Io and Philomela use the respective media of writing and weaving to reconnect with their communities. In the exile literature, Ovid depicts his exilic persona in similar fashion: as one who loses the ability to speak when he assumes the role of *exul* in *T.* 1.3; as one who struggles to come to grips with his speech loss throughout the exile literature; and as one who ultimately overcomes his voicelessness in some fashion through the composition of letters to his lost community at Rome.

I ended the previous chapter with the realization that the community to which Ovid's exilic persona was writing was the poetic community and that one of the reasons for this choice of addressees was the fact that the exile self-identified as a poet. In this chapter, I will push this notion of Ovid's audience further, arguing that the main reason for the exile's focus on poetic circles was Ovid's concern with memory and, in particular, his memory. In effect, this chapter explores the 'why': why did Ovid choose to describe his exile through speech loss? What did he hope to achieve by doing so? Exiled from Rome, Ovid faced the all-too-real prospect of being forgotten not only by his friends and family but also by Rome itself. The exact nature of how Ovid ran the risk of being

forgotten, how that forgetting was tied to speech loss, and how Ovid conceived of writing as a means of fending off forgetfulness will be the topic of this chapter. First, I will situate Ovid's exile in the broader socio-literary context of memory, or *memoria*, in Rome. *Memoria* can be broadly defined as a 'recollection not bound by historical fact' and will be defined more fully at the beginning of the next section. As a society intimately linked with *memoria*, Rome provided Ovid with ample ways of exploring his exile in terms of *memoria*. In the late Republic and early Empire, a number of writers controlled the manner in which literature transmitted the *memoria* of individuals and of Rome itself. Ovid, as a *vates*, held a position as one of these writers while he was in Rome, but upon his exile, his role as a creator of *memoria* was threatened. Secondly, I will discuss how Ovid uses the motif of speech loss identified in the previous three chapters to comment upon his loss of the ability to create and to partake in *memoria*. In particular, I will turn to the modern sociological theories of cultural and communicative memory first developed by Maurice Halbwachs and later expanded upon by Jan and Aleida Assmann to show the connection made by Ovid between a loss of *memoria* and a loss of speech. Finally, I will examine how Ovid's attempts to maintain communities of revision with his fellow poets through his letters are tantamount to his attempts to retain his ability to create *memoria*. Through the maintenance of his connection with the poetic community, Ovid is able to continue in his position as *vates*, as a creator of *memoria*. Because he is able to keep this ability intact, Ovid is thus able to craft a new *memoria* for himself, one that effectively both erases the *memoria* of his exile that was based in historical fact and superimposes upon the 'true' *memoria* a new *memoria* crafted by Ovid,

one that points to the actions of his exilic persona as the *memoria* that Ovid wishes to be remembered. As such, the pattern of 'speech loss - community loss - writing as a medium of reconnection' becomes not only a narrative description of the exilic persona's life in exile but also a metaphor for Ovid's larger attempts to fashion a *memoria* of exile for himself.

Memoria in Rome: Setting the Background for Ovid's Exilic Project

Theoretical Underpinnings

Before discussing Ovid's manipulation of *memoria* in his exile literature, we first must unpack the term *memoria* and situate ourselves within the world of *memoria* in Ovid's Rome. A logical place to start in exploring *memoria* is the Oxford Latin Dictionary, which describes the term with no fewer than ten definitions varying from the basic ability 1)"the power or faculty of remembering" (*OLD* s.v. 1) to a verbal action 2) "the action or fact of remembering" (*OLD* s.v. 3) to the ability of an entire society to remember 3) "the collective memory which men have of the past, tradition, history" (*OLD* s.v. 7) to the highly selective 4) "what is remembered of a person or thing" (*OLD* s.v. 5) to finally a highly subjective 5) "the period covered by one's recollection" (*OLD* s.v. 6).[411] The underlying concept of *memoria*, then, is multifaceted, but a few foundational concepts can be identified: 1) the term denotes a recollection of something in the past; 2) the agent who remembers can be an individual, a group of people, or an

[411] Beyond the Oxford Latin Dictionary, other concise discussions of *memoria* are: Galinsky 2014 1-4; Heusch 2011 23-47; Walter 2004 26-35.

entire culture; 3) the remembrance of something – both what what remembers and how one remembers it – is entirely subjective.

The first of these concepts does not need any further explanation, but the other two concepts may. The question of the agency of memory, of "To whom should memory be attributed? To the individual or to the group?", is one that lies at the heart of memory studies and there are two clear schools of thought.[412] The first school, termed by Paul Ricoeur as *la tradition du regard intérieur*, argues that memory only occurs on the individual level.[413] This tradition takes its cue from the Aristotelian idea that memories are subjective experiences that belong to the individual and work to create a differentiated sense of identity.[414] The second group, *le regard extérieur*, argues for the existence of a collective consciousness, an amalgamation of remembrances that provides the identity of a group of individuals.[415] In modern scholarship, the individual form of memory was first hypothesized by Sigmund Freud, who explored the idea of individual, 'repressed' memories in his 1896 essay *Zur Ätiologie der Hysterie* and later expanded his conception of personal memory in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930).[416] The first

[412] Erll 2010 3-7; J. Assmann 2010 109-110.

[413] Ricoeur 2004 96-97: "Three features are apt to be underscored in favor of the fundamentally private character of memory. First, memory does seem to be radically singular: my memories are not yours. The memories of one person cannot be transferred into the memory of another . . . Next, it is in memory that the original tie of consciousness to the past appears to reside . . . Third and final feature: it is to memory that the sense of orientation in time is linked; orientation in two senses, from the past to the future . . . but also from the future to the past. It is on basis of these features collected by common experience and ordinary language that the tradition of inwardness was constructed."

[414] Arist. *Parv. nat*. 449b15-450b1. Ricoeur 2004 96-120 traces this development from Aristotle and Augustine to the equation of identity and memory made in more modern times by Locke, Kant, and Husserl. Cf. also Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011 8-12 for a brief history of the changing conceptions of memory from antiquity to today.

[415] Ricoeur 2004 120-124.

[416] Freud 1959 15: "There was probably introduced a system of notation, whose task was to deposit the results of this periodical activity of consciousness – a part of that which we call memory"

scholar to argue against such Freudian individualism and for the idea of the social aspect of memory was Maurice Halbwachs in his *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémorie* (1925).[417] For Halbwachs, memory depended on two factors: 1) the group in which an individual lives, and 2) the status an individual holds in that group. The only way by which an individual can remember is by placing him/herself in the frameworks of the group's memory (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*).[418] Moreover, if an individual is removed from the group's memory framework, the individual forgets and is forgotten.[419] Yet, Halbwachs stopped short of describing memory as a supra-individual entity separate from individual recollection, instead arguing that the social and individual aspects of memory are mutually dependent.[420] Consequently, Halbwachs concluded that memory was not

[417] Halbwachs, following in the footsteps of Emile Durkheim and Henri Bergson, followed up *La Cadres sociaux* with *La Mémorie Collective* (1950). As Ricoeur 2004 120 notes, the biggest difference between the works is that in *La Mémorie Collective* Halbwachs "was to draw the reference to collective memory out of the very work of personal memory engaged in recalling its memories."

Olick and Robbins 1998 provides a good sketch of the history of collective memory as well as a useful discussion of how to define the field of social memory. In addition, Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 2011 3-29 give a useful background the development of collective memory and current trajectories in the scholarship on collective memory.

[418] Halbwachs 1925 6: "C'est en ce sens qu'il existerait une mémoire collective et des cadres sociaux de la mémoire, et c'est dans la mesure où notre pensée individuelle se replace dans cescadres et participe à cette mémoire qu'elle serait capable de se souvenir."

[419] Halbwachs 1925 206: "L'individu évoque ses souvenirs en s'aidant des cadres de la mémoire sociale. En d'autres termes les divers groupes en lesquels se décompose la société sont capables àchaque instant de reconstruire leur passé. Mais, nous l'avons vu, le plus souvent, en même temps qu'ils le reconstruisent, ils le déforment. Certes, il y a bien des faits, bien des détails de certains faits, que l'individu oublierait, si les autres n'en gardaient point le souvenir pour lui. Mais, d'autre part la société ne peut vivre que si, entre les individus et les groupes qui la composent, il existe une suffisante unité de vue." Cf. Lavenne, Renard, Tollet 2n6.

[420] Halbwachs 1925 9: “On peut dire aussi bien que l'individu se souvient en se plaçant au point de vue du groupe, et que la mémoire du groupe se réalise et se manifeste dans les mémoires individuelles.” [One is able to say well that the individual remembers by placing himself in the point of view of the group, and that the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories”]

entirely the construction of an individual, as an individual only has memories if s/he is situated in a larger group.[421]

Halbwachs' original concept of collective memory has since been broken down further into two smaller groupings: cultural and communicative memory. This distinction between communicative and cultural memory was first introduced by Jan Assmann 1992 in order to differentiate different types of collective memory that had been treated more or less in the same fashion (Figure 4).[422] Communicative memory is non-institutional (i.e., not supported by any institutions of learning, transmission, and interpretation) and not formalized by any material symbolization (Assmann 2010, 111), but is instead based exclusively in "everyday communication" and is shared and conveyed within a social group defined by common memories of that communication over a time span of only 80 to 100 years (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995, 127).[423]

[421] Olick and Robbins 1998 109; Erll 2011 16.

[422] J. Assmann 2010 110: "Halbwachs, however, the inventor of the term 'collective memory,' was careful to keep his concept of collective memory apart from the realm of traditions, transmissions, and transferences which we propose to subsume under the term 'cultural memory'. We [i.e., Jan and Aleida Assmann] preserve Halbwachs's distinction by breaking up his concept of collective memory into 'communicative' and 'cultural memory', but we insist on including the cultural sphere, which he excluded, in the study of memory. We are, therefore, not arguing for replacing his idea of 'collective memory' with 'cultural memory'; rather, we distinguish between both forms as two different modi memorandi, ways of remembering."

[423] The number of 80 to 100 years was arrived at because of its identification as a *saeculum*, the timespan of three of four generations. Gladigow 1983, basing his arguments on Herodotus and Tacitus *Ann.* 3.75, states that a *saeculum* is the maximum amount of time that a generation is able to be remembered. For more on the *saeculum*, see Canick-Lindemeier. Cf. Cat. 1: *quod, <o> patrona virgo, / plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*.

	Communicative Memory	Cultural Memory
Content	history in the frame of autobiographical memory, recent past	mythical history, events in absolute past ("in illo tempore")
Forms	informal traditions and genres of everyday communication	high degree of formation, ceremonial communication
Media	living, embodied memory, communication in vernacular language	mediated in texts, icons, dances, rituals, and performances of various kinds; "classical" or otherwise formalized language(s)
Time Structure	80-100 years, a moving horizon of 3-4 interacting generations	absolute past, mythical primodial time, "3000 years"
Participation Structure	diffuse	specialized carriers of memory, hierarchically structured

Figure 4: Description of Communicative and Cultural Memory from Assmann 2010, 117

Cultural memory, on the other hand, is more systematized and institutionalized than communicative memory. Whereas communicative memory is a short-term, non-standardized form of memory, cultural memory is a long-term, formalized accumulation of objectified symbols that are, unlike forms of communication, are "stable and situation-transcendent", as they are able to be passed from one generation to another and to be transferred from one situation to another (Assmann 2010 110-111). Each society's cultural memory is, therefore, comprised of a store of symbols, a collection of "reusable

texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assmann and Czaplicka 1995 132).[424]

The third question regarding *memoria*, the question of its subjectivity, is also an aspect that should be unpacked briefly. Alain Gowing, in his 2005 discussion of the deployment of the *memoria* of the Republic in imperial Rome, provides the clearest explanation of the subjectivity of *memoria*, defining *memoria* in relationship to modern conceptions of historicity and the Roman concept of *historia*. For Gowing, *memoria* is inherently subjective, as an individual or a group of individuals may recollect an event in a manner that differs considerably from the 'historical facts' of the remembered event, individual, or thing.[425] This distinction between subjectivity and historicity is based on the modern notion of what history ought to be, namely, a "set of 'facts' or 'truths' arrived at not through or exclusively through recollection and remembrance, which are notoriously fallible, but through rigorous inquiry and research" (Gowing 11).[426] Yet, *memoria* is not bound by such historistic constraints, as it presents an experiential viewpoint.[427] Erll 2011 perhaps states this best:

> For Halbwachs, history deals with the past. Collective memory, in contrast, is oriented towards the needs and interests of the group in the present, and thus proceeds in an extremely selective and reconstructive manner. Along the way,

[424] A. Assmann 2010 makes a distinction regarding this store of symbolic objects, describing the storage of institutions of active memory that preserve the "past as present" (i.e., keep past memories relevant in the present) as a **canon** and the storage of institutions of passive memory that preserve the "past as past" as an **archive**. For more on this distinction, see Grabes 2010; Taylor 2005; J. Assmann 1998; Jünger 1957.

[425] Gowing 2005 10: "But that is to question whether the memory is 'true' or 'false', 'transmitted' or 'lived', not whether it is in fact a memory at all. Regardless of origins, such memories become part of the individual's experience and understanding of the past, and, to the extent that such memories are shared, part of the culture's 'collective memory'". Cf. Burker 1989 98ff.; Neisser and Libby 2000 315-332.

[426] Nora 1984; Hobsbawn 1997; Lowenthal 1985; Davis and Starn 1989; Hutton 1993; Yoneyama 1999; Oexle 1995.

[427] Nora 1989 7-24; Thomson, Frisch and Hamilton 1994 33-43.

> what is remembered can become distorted and shifted to such an extent that the result is closer to fiction than to a past reality (17).

Moreover, the Romans themselves did not subscribe to such modern distinctions between *memoria* and history, as can be seen from a comparison of *memoria* to *historia*: *Memoria* could be used to describe any recollection of past experiences, regardless of genre; *Historia*, likewise, was not linked to a 'historiographical' genre, but to *any attempt* to transmit the past.[428] As Gowing 2005 also points out, Cicero cites Ennius' *Annales* as a source of history (*Brut.* 57, 60) and Tacitus, likewise, considers German *carmina* as historical (*Ger.* 2.2).[429] In Roman thought, therefore, the relationship between subjective *memoria* and *historia* was not oppositional, as in modern thought, but complementary: "*Historia* is simply a vehicle for *memoria*" (Gowing 12).[430]

So, the conception of *memoria* with which we are left and upon which we shall base the entire discussion of Ovid in this Chapter is multifaceted and ever-changing. *Memoria* is the subjective recollection of individuals, groups, or whole societies, and the process of *memoria* can be both static (as in the case of cultural memory) and a constantly changing reevaluation and renegotiation (as in the case of individual or communicative memory). Now that a theoretical basis of *memoria* has been established, we now turn to the Roman context in order to frame our subsequent discussions of Ovid's manipulation of *memoria* in that context.

Memoria in Rome

[428] Gowing 2005 11: "For the Romans *historia* is less a genre than a definition of subject matter. Poetry is therefore not excluded, nor monuments and inscriptions." Cf. Woodman 1988 *passim*.
[429] ibid., 11.
[430] Cic. *Orat.* 2.36: *Historia . . . vita memoriae . . .qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?* Cf. also Cic. *Orat.* 120; Livy *Praef.* 3; Sal. *Jug*. 4.1, 6 and *Cat.* 1.3; Sen. *Suas.* 6.4, 15; Tac. *Agr.*1.2; Gel. 1.3.1; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.31.

Over the past three decades, interest in these theoretical formulations of memory and remembrance has taken off, leading some scholars to term the trend a "memory boom".[431] Driven in part by the progressive loss of the generation of individuals who survived the horrors of the Holocaust, memory studies have used such theories of memory to interpret cultural and individual responses to and recollection of traumatic and culturally-defining events. Such a reevaluation of the process of memory has not failed to find root in Classical Studies, as well. More recently, classicists have attempted to reevaluate ancient conceptions and discussions of memory through the prism of memory studies. In particular, Rome has received the lion's share of scholarly attention because of the profound emphasis Roman culture placed upon *memoria*, a focus summed up best by the opening sentence to a recent collection of studies on *memoria Romana*: "Memory defined Roman civilization".[432]

Studies into the role of *memoria* in Rome have broadly fallen into two categories: 1) material culture and 2) literature. Taking its cue from theoretical concepts outlined in Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire*, studies into material culture have focused on the use of both certain geographical spaces and the iconography and inscriptions of *monumenta* to evoke and influence *memoria*. However, since the current discussion is interested in Ovid's literary construction of exile, we shall focus entirely on literature. Two statements concerning the study of literature and *memoria* must be made at the outset: 1.

[431] Galinsky 2014 3. See also the homepage of the *Memoria Romana* Project for an up-to-date bibliography on the memory boom: http://www.utexas.edu/research/memoria/bibliography.htm
[432] Galinsky 2014 1.

literature both codifies and communicates collective memory; 2. authors of literature have immense control over that *memoria*.

In the context of ancient Rome, this first point can be demonstrated by Livy and Vergil. Livy's history – and indeed historiographical writing in general – is chiefly concerned with the presentation of *exempla* to the audience.[433] These *exempla* were highlighted in order to communicate certain Roman values and to serve as models for how Romans ought to live their lives. Livy says as much in the *Praefatio* to his history:

ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentes primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec uitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vites.
Livy, *Praefatio* 9-10

These are the subjects to which I would ask each earnestly turn his attention: what kind of life, what kind of morals there were; through which men and which arts domestic and foreign power was achieved and increased. Then, as discipline gradually lowers, let him follow the decaying customs, then how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly, and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our vices nor their remedies. This is the exceptionally beneficial and fruitful advantage in considering past affairs: that you see documents of every example placed in a clear monument. Thence you may select for yourself and your country what you are to imitate, and also what, disastrous in inception and completion, you are to avoid.

Not only is Livy interested in communicating the shared cultural history of Rome, but also in transmitting the cultural memory of what it meant to be Roman. Values such as *industria, pietas, gravitas,* and *honestas* – core Roman values – are handed down to following generations in the traditional stories of Romulus, Camillus, the Horatii, etc., all of which fit Assmann's criteria stated above: "reusable texts, images, and rituals specific

[433] For a detailed discussion of Livy's use of *memoria*, cf. Jaeger 1997 Chapter 1.

to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (132). Moreover, Livy describes his work as a *monumentum*, a term etymologically related to *memoria* and bound up in the permanence of the *memoria* inscribed onto the *monumentum*.[434]

The sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* – a *locus communis* for memory study in antiquity, along with Cicero *ad Fam.* 5.12 (see below) and Augustine's *Confessions* – should also be seen as an effort to codify and communicate Roman collective memory.[435] As Anchises shows his son Aeneas the famous Romans who will be his offspring, the external audience is presented with a 'history' of Rome that includes many of the *exempla* whose stories both punctuated Livy's history and demonstrated Roman *mores*. As an example, consider this gnomic statement that caps the end of Anchises' penultimate speech in the book:

excudent alii spirantia mollius aera (credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uultus, orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent: tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'	Others will beat out bronzes breathing so softly (indeed, I believe it), will lead forth living likenesses out of marble, will argue cases better, will describe the measure of the heavens with the rod and will name the surging stars: You, Roman, remember to rule people with power (these will be your arts), and to place custom on peace, to spare the

[434] Jaeger 1997 23-24: "Livy's words stress the active role that his audience must play to comprehend the past. The reader's study illuminates the record and makes the clear vision possible. Livy's hypothetical student of history aims at seeing, but at seeing as a metaphor for understanding. Studying history allows one to look on a *monumentum*, but a clear view is only part of this experience: the encounter with a *monumentum* that produces insight also entails the viewer's awareness of his or her own position in space (that of the *viator* on the road passing by). While the narrative maneuvers the read into a position that allows him or her to receive an instructive vision, the idea student reaches the ultimate goal of understanding the past, at times through vision, at times through determining his or her own position relative to events recorded on the textual 'monument', and at times through perceiving the structure and movement of a particular episode."

[435] Seider 2013 18-27. Seider 2013 5-13 points out that terms of memory *(immemor, meminisse, memor, memorabilis, monimentum, oblivisci, oblivium, recordari*, and *reminisci*) are prevalent in the *Aeneid* and occur a total of 67 times throughout the work. As a comparison, the forms of the word *arma*, one of the defining words of the *Aeneid*, appear only 60 times.

Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.847-853 downtrodden and to beat down the proud.

The operative words here are *Romane* and *memento*. The vocative *Romane*, never used again in the *Aeneid* to describe a character, does not so much call out to Aeneas – for he is not yet Roman – as it does to each member of Vergil's audience, instructing them to perform the task of remembrance. What Vergil's Roman audience is asked to remember are the defining actions that separate Romans from others: to rule people with power, to impose a custom on peace, to spare the downtrodden, and to beat down the proud. Moreover, the imperative *memento* implies that remembering will be a key aspect of Roman power and shows that ruling must be done by memory: one must have a clear picture of the past in order to regulate the present or future.[436] Vergil calls his audience to remember what it means to be Roman and to apply that cultural memory to their present and future actions.

As to the second point regarding literature and *memoria*, we can remain with *Aeneid* 6. Included in Vergil's rehearsal of Roman cultural memory are members of Augustus' family, both natural and adoptive: Julius Caesar, Marcellus, and Augustus himself (ll. 788ff.; 855ff.). In addition to demonstrating the *mores* of Roman cultural *memoria* through *exempla*, Vergil weaves the members of Augustus' family into that *memoria*, effectively codifying them as individuals to be held on par with Romulus, Camillus, and other traditional Roman *exempla*. In so doing, Vergil shows the authorial ability to exert control over *memoria* and, to a certain extent, to shape the development of such *memoria*; for here Vergil stakes a claim for Augustus within Roman *memoria*

[436] Smith 2005, 89.

through Augustus' connection to the *gens Iulia* and their descent from Venus and Anchises, a claim providing the *princeps* a portion of divine nature for himself.[437]

Vergil was not the only writer interested in affecting *memoria* for the benefit of the ruling family in Rome. Statius too has been shown to have done similar things for the Flavians in his works. Rosati, in his recent chapter on Statius and *memoria*, argues that at various points, Statius helps to create a *memoria* for the Flavians who otherwise had no claim to imperial power through lineage.[438] In particular, Rosati focuses on the fact that in literature of the Principate, the emperor drew power from the celebration of the *memoria* of his triumphs in literature, as their introduction into literature provided the vehicle for their inclusion in the Roman collective consciousness.[439] In the particular instance of the Flavians and Statius, Rosati points to the recollection of the Flavian victory in the war of Jupiter (i.e., the civil war between two 'emperors' Vespasian and Vitellius in 69 CE) in both the opening to his *Thebaid* (*aut defensa prius vix pubescentibus annis / bella Iovis*, 1.21–22) and in the first poem of his *Silvae* (*tu bella*

[437] Vergil's keen interest in exerting control over *memoria* and creating a new *memoria* for a Roman people that has just survived the bloody fighting of civil wars can be seen from the outside of his *Aeneid*. Throughout the proem, Vergil indicates his close generic connection to the Homeric epics through multiple allusions. The opening phrase, for example, *arma virumque cano*, is a nod to the *arma* of the *Iliad* and the *vir* of the Odyssey. However, it is where Vergil differs that draws our attention. In his invocation of the Muses, Vergil makes a noticeable change from his Homeric predecessors. Whereas the beginnings of the Homeric epics exhort the Muses to speak (ἔννεπε) and sing (ἄειδε) the tale of the Trojan War, Vergil asks his muse to remember (*musa mihi causas memora*). For Vergil, the *Aeneid* differed from the Homeric epic in its core aim: not simply to retell events and hand down stories to posterity, but to rehearse a cultural memory that formed the crux of Roman identity and to encourage his audience to engage with it.

[438] Rosati 2014 77: "The Flavians too need their "foundation myth," a glorious past that legitimates their leadership. And we know that this "need of a past" was a serious political problem for the family that, at the end of the civil war of the 'year of the four emperors,' had succeeded the glorious Julio-Claudian dynasty (which the myth of Aeneas traced back to divine origins)." Cf. also Suet. *Ves.* 1.1: *obscura . . . quidem ac sine ullis maiorum imaginibus*.

[439] Rosati 2014 76: "The *memoria* of his own triumph, entrusted in the world of myth to the Muses (who are the daughters of Memory) and in concrete earthly reality to poets, who are inspired by them, is the foundation on which Jupiter (and his counterpart on earth, the emperor) legitimates his right to command."

Iovis, tu proelia Rheni, / tu civile nefas, tu tardum in foedera montem / longo Marte domas, 1.1.79-81). The placement of this triumph in a literary context introduced the event into the Roman collective *memoria* and provided a means for the Flavians to legitimate their power in a manner similar to how the *Aeneid* solidified the Julio-Claudian claim.

Beyond Vergil and Statius, one of the most-examined passages in the study of *memoria* in Rome is the Ciceronian passage with which I opened this chapter.[440] In it, Cicero writes to the historian Lucceius regarding a history of Cicero's consulship that Cicero wants Lucceius to write. Cicero's chief concern is that Lucceius write the history in a manner flattering to Cicero (*Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam, quam fortasse senis*). The goal of doing so would be to present a more dignified *memoria* (*ad memoriae dignitatem*) for Cicero. Although this passage has typically been used to describe the lack of modern historicity in *memoria*, it can also speak to the idea that authors had a great amount of control over how they shaped a *memoria* that could ultimately inform Roman tradition.

As we turn our attention to Ovid, therefore, we need to keep this concept of *memoria* in mind. Ovid, just as Vergil and Statius, was the author of an epic poem that helped define Roman cultural memory: the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid's work created a type of repository of Graeco-Roman mythology, traditional stories that helped the Romans decipher who they were and how to approach their world. Part of this mythology

[440] The other most-studied passages are: Cic. *de Orat.* 2.36, 2.52; *Brut.* 57, 60. Cf. Gowing 2005 7-27 for more.

espoused by Ovid was a type of teleological outlook tracing the history of the world from its first seeds (*semina*, 1.9) to the rule of Rome in Ovid's day:

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora; di, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illas) adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen! Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.1-4	My mind moves me to speak of forms changed into new bodies; gods, inspire my beginnings (for you have changed even those) and lead an everlasting song from the first beginning of the world to my times.

Moreover, the last third of the *Metamorphoses* picks up strands of Vergil and Livy, showing traditional *exempla* from Roman cultural memory and incorporating both Julius Caesar and Augustus. Although Ovid's motives for including these sections have been debated, the points regarding *memoria* are clear: Ovid, as a producer of literature, both engages in Roman collective *memoria* and manipulates that *memoria* with the topics he includes.

However, as we saw in Chapter 3, when Ovid is exiled, his status is transformed. He is physically removed from his community and, more importantly, his status as producer of literature is threatened. In Halbwachsian terms, he is taken outside of the social frameworks of both his physical, Roman society and his literary society. He even shows the particularly Halbwachsian indication of removal from society: speech loss. Most importantly, as a speechless exile, he runs the risk of forgetting and being forgotten.

Performing *Memoria*

Ovid describes his exile in terms of speech loss and community loss because both concepts are bound up in the idea of memory. According to Halbwachs, one must be an active participant in a society in order to take part in that society's memory and, more

importantly for Ovid, to be remembered by the society. When he is exiled, Ovid loses his place in communal memory and loses the voice with which he can interact with that memory. Moreover, the loss of his poetic community is especially painful for Ovid because – as just mentioned – poets in Ancient Rome had the ability to fashion memory. Thus, in exile, Ovid not only loses his place in communicative memory, but also his ability to create memory itself.

Yet, as we discussed in Chapter 3, Ovid turns to writing in an effort to mediate his loss of voice and to reintegrate himself with his community. As communicative memory is ever-changing and dynamic, Ovid continuously reengages with his lost community in hopes of changing his status in the community's collective memory. Whereas our previous discussion dealt mostly with the form of Ovid's writings back to Rome and the role epistolography played in creating a voice, this section will deal with the content of those letters. In particular, it will explore the interplay between community, speech, and memory in the exile literature. Three poems – *P.* 1.9, *P.* 2.4, and *T.* 1.1 – will form the heart of our discussion, as each focuses on issues of speech and community in the explicit context of memory. In the first two of these poems, the exile writes to a friend within the typical conventions of *amicitia*: *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 both address friends, Maximus Cotta and Atticus, who are described as unsure and hesitant about helping or even interacting with the exile.[441] Then, the exile urges his addressees to fulfill the duties of *amicitia* by

[441] Maximus Cotta is traditionally associated as the adopted son of Messalla Corvinus, Ovid's former patron. He assumed the name Messallinus at the death of his elder brother M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus. Multiple letters in the *Ex Ponto* are addressed to Cotta: *P.* 1.5, 1.9, 2.3, 3.2 and 3.5. For a general overview of these poems, including major themes, see Evans 1983 114-119. For a discussion of the historical Maximus Cotta, see Syme 1978 117-131.

rehearsing a memory of the exile's identity: he reminds each of them of the activities that each had performed with him before his exile. The exile's hope is that his rehearsal will remind the addressees of his identity so that they will be inspired to carry on the same activities with him while he is in exile and, in effect, will recreate the community that the exile has lost. In terms of the memory theory outlined at the beginning of this chapter, through rehearsing his own *memoria* for his addressees, the exile is attempting to place himself back within the social framework of his lost community, allowing himself to be remembered and to remember; in terms of the literary models of this topos, the exile is writing his *memoria* into letters to his lost community in the same manner that Philomela wrote her *memoria* of Tereus' rape into a tapestry for her lost community: in both cases, the writers attempt to gain control over *memoria* and to write a *memoria* that will cause the recipients of that *memoria* to remember the writers and to reconnect with them.

In Ovid's exilic context, *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 aim to effect such a reconnection *via memoria* in the same manner, following a similar narrative sequence that can be broken into three portions. First, the exile broaches the topic of *memoria* by describing how a vision, an *imago,* of the addressee comes before his eyes and causes him to recall times that he and the addressee shared together before exile. Second, he recalls a specifically literary community that existed between himself and his addressee, describing how they used to write poetry of various types. Third, he continues his recollection of literary

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In contrast to Maximus Cotta, little is known about Atticus. Evans 1983 postulates that he is the same Atticus whom Ovid addresses at *Am.* 1.9.2 and perhaps the same *eques* Curtius Atticus who is mentioned as a friend of Emperor Tiberius in Tact. *Ann.* 4.58.1 and 6.10.2. Two letters in the *Ex Ponto* are addressed to Atticus: *P.* 2.4 and 2.7. For a general overview of these poems, including major themes, see Evans 1983 134-135. For a discussion of the historical Atticus, see Syme 1978 72 and Froesch 1967 102-3, 217n386.

production, pointing out how he and the addressee used to be in a community of poetic revision and how the addressee used to edit the exile's poetic productions before they were performed for the public. The exile closes this final section with an allusion to one of Ovid's prior poetic works, referencing the *Tristia* and *Ars Amatoria*. Such an increased emphasis on the memory of literary production is due to the fact that the exile is attempting 1) to reconnect with a **literary** community and 2) to regain control of his own *memoria* in his community (i.e., his place in *les cadres sociaux*) through **literary production** itself. In the following discussion, I will take each of these three sections in order.

Invoking Memoria

Starting with the exile's invocation of *memoria* first, we turn our attention to the beginning of two of these poems:

Ante meos oculos tamquam praesentis imago haeret et extinctum uiuere fingit amor. (*P.* 1.9.7-8)	Before my eyes, his image just as if he were present lingers and love makes the dead seem alive.
Ante oculos nostros posita est tua semper imago et uideor uultus mente uidere tuos. (*P.* 2.4.7-8)	Before my eyes your image is always placed and I seem to see your likeness in my mind.

In each of these openings, both placed as the fourth couplets of their respective poems, the exile describes how he sees the *imagines* of Celsus and Atticus before his eyes.[442] Such a use of *imago* serves two purposes in this context: 1) to introduce the fact that this

[442] Helzle 2003 *ad P.* 1.9.7-8 comments on the prevalence of the *imago* motif in Ovid: "In Ovids Exildichtung dient die Phantasie i.d.R. dazu, sich das ferne Rom und die abwesenden Freunde vorzustellen, also um den metaphorischen 'Tod' zu überwinden. Doch hier wird der reale Todesfall mit der Vorstellungskraft überbrückt. [In Ovid's exile literature, the *imago* (e.g., representions of the distant Rome and absent friends) serves to overcome metaphorical death.]

is the exile's *memoria* and 2) to depict the exile as an epic hero seeing a vision of a member of his lost community.

The use of *imago* to describe the act of remembering was a prevalent one in Roman literature.[443] In an epistolary context, Cicero uses the term to describe a recollection of his past experiences: *me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum* ***imaginem*** *video in rebus tuis* (*Fam.* 1.6.2). Likewise, Vergil, another major influence on Ovid's exile literature, uses the term multiple times in the *Aeneid* to refer to memory: Aeneas, having watched the brutal death of Priam at the hands of Neoptolemus, recalls the dangers his own family faces without him to guard them in the form of an *imago* of his loved ones: *subiit cari genitoris* ***imago****, / ut regem aequaeuum crudeli uulnere uidi / uitam exhalantem, subiit deserta Creusa / et direpta domus et parui casus Iuli* (2.560-3); the Sibyl tells Charon to recall the golden bough in his mind as a token that allows Aeneas to cross to the Underworld: *si te nulla mouet tantae pietatis* ***imago****, / at ramum hunc' (aperit ramum qui ueste latebat) / 'agnoscas*' (6.405-7).[444] Finally, Ovid himself uses the term to describe his memory of the night of his exile in *Tristia* 1.3, introducing the poem-long description of his exile as an *imago*:

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[443] cf. also Tac. *A.* 1: *tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse,* ***imago****, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civilis in exitium hostibus vertant*; Tac. *A.* 2.53: *magna illic* ***imago*** *tristium laetorumque.* For the motif in the exile literature, see Nagle 1980 92-98a and Viarre 1974 275-76.

Galasso 1995 *ad P.* 2.4.7-8 connects the motif of 'seeing' a mental image back to Greek literature, and to Homer in particular: "Il topos dell'occhio dell'anima e della vision mentale, che assume valenze particolari con i presocratici e poi soprattutto Platone, ha tuttavia precedent a livello popolare già in Omero." [The topos of the eye of the soul and of the mental vision, which assumes particular values present in the pre-Socratics and, above all, in Plato, however, already has precedents at the popular level in Homer.]

[444] This use of *imago* to refer to the recollection of the appearance of dead people is also common: cf. *TLL* s.v. 409-26-47; Cic. *Div.* 1.63; V.Fl. 3.363. Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.9.7 also points out the similarly common combination of *imago* and *haerere*: cf. *TLL* s.v. 2494.7-38).

Cum subit illius tristissima noctis **imago**, quae mihi supremum tempus in Vrbe fuit, cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui, labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis. (*T.* 1.3.1-4)	Whenever comes to mind the image, most grievous, of that night, which was my final time in the city, when I think back to the night on which I left so many things dear to me, there falls even now from my eyes a tear.

Against this background, the use of *imago* in the context of *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 can be taken as a means of introducing the idea that the descriptions to follow are the exile's rehearsal of *memoria*, his recollections of his lost identity and community.

In addition to the more straightforward interpretation of *imago* as a mental image of recollection, the term also carries markedly epic resonances.[445] In the *Aeneid*, the term *imago* is consistently used to describe the appearance of Aeneas' dead family members to the hero.[446] Moreover, this use of *imago* is sometimes paired with the phrase *ante oculos*[447]:

in somnis, ecce, **ante oculos** maestissimus Hector uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus, raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento puluere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis. (Vergil, *A.* 2.270-73)	In my sleep, behold, before my eyes the most sorrowful Hector seemed to be present and to pour out huge tears, as once seized by the chariot, black with gory dirt and dragged with straps through his swollen feet.
ipsius umbra Creusae uisa mihi **ante oculos** et nota maior **imago**. obstipui, steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit. * * * * *	The shade of Creusa herself seemed to be present before my eyes and an image, familiar but somewhat larger. I gaped in astonishment; my hair stood on end and

[445] cf. note 24 above and Galasso's connection of the motif to Homer. cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.115: ὀσσόμενος πατέρ᾽ ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν.

[446] Helzle 2003 *ad P.* 1.9.7-8 mentions the use of *imago* to describe Dido as well, linking the use of the motif in Apollodorus, Vergil, and Ovid's later rendition in *Heroides* 7: "Das Motiv *ante meos oculos imago haeret* erinnert besonders an Dido bei Verg. *Aen*. IV 4 *haerent infixi pectore vultus* (vgl. Apoll. Rhod. III 453), Ov. *Epist.* 7,25 *Aeneas oculos vigilantis semper inhaeret, / coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabit imago*."

[447] For an epistolographic example, see Cic. *ad fam.* 14.2.3: *mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris*. For more on *ad fam.* 14.2.3, see Nagle 1980 33-35.

ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago, par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno. (Vergil, *A.* 2.772-774; 792-794)	my voice clung to my throat. * * * * thrice I tried to throw my arms about her neck; thrice the image, pressed in vain, fled my grip like the light breeze and most similar to a fleeting dream.
ille autem: 'tua me, genitor, tua tristis **imago** saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit; * * * * * ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum; ter frustra comprensa manus effugit **imago**, par leuibus uentis uolucrique simillima somno. (Vergil, *A.* 6.695-696; 700-702)	However, [Aeneas] said: "your sad image, father, your sad image, coming so often to me, drove me to touch these shores; * * * * * thrice he tried to throw his arms about his neck; thrice the image, pressed in vain, fled his grip like the light breeze and most similar to a fleeting dream.

In these three passages, Aeneas is visited by Hector, Creusa, and Anchises, all members of his family who have died. Moreover, these specific members of Aeneas' family represent members of his lost Trojan community who continuously guide him until he re-establishes the Trojan community in Italy: Hector warns Aeneas about the Greek raid and instructs him to take the Trojan Penates, symbols of the community, to safety in Italy; Creusa informs Aeneas of her death and tells him that another wife is fated for him, a wife through whom he will solidify the new foundation of the Trojan community; and Anchises is a constant advisor to Aeneas who pushes him ever towards his fate, but here in Book 6 his appearance is especially bound up in community, as he rehearses for Aeneas the lineage of the new Trojan community that he will found in Italy.[448]

If the exile's use of *imago* to describe the appearance of Celsus and Atticus before his eyes is read as an allusion to these Vergilian uses, the force of the term changes from

[448] Seider 2014.

only a method of describing a recollection to a more expansive means of depicting the exile as an epic hero who is experiencing visions of members from his own lost community. The exile's situation is fairly analogous to Aeneas': the images of Atticus and Celsus, members of his lost poetic community, are always before the exile's eyes, and he hopes that, like Hector, Creusa, and Anchises, both Atticus and Celsus will fulfill their duties as *amici* and will help effect the exile's own re-foundation back within his lost community.

Memoria loquendi: Recalling a Literary Community

Having now identified the exile's interest in memory through the use of *imago* to start both *T.* 1.9 and *P.* 2.4, I turn to the exile's attempts to describe such *memoria* in terms of literary production. After having initiated his rehearsal of *memoria* and having drawn a close parallel between his relationship with the addressees and an epic hero's relationship with members of his lost community, the exile expands upon his *memoria* and brings it into a markedly literary dimension. For, the lost community in which the exile wants to be remembered is not Aeneas' Trojan one, but a community of poetic revision (cf. Chapter 3). Therefore, the excerpts of *memoria* on which the exile focuses are instances in which he and the addressees engaged in literary production and revision. In both *T.* 1.9 and *P.* 2.4, the exile uses specific vocabulary (e.g., *gravitas*, *peragere*) to describe his previous literary production with his *amici* Celsus and Atticus. Moreover, in *P.* 2.4, the exile makes the explicit link between his previous literary community and his ability to speak, arguing that due to the editorial failure of the community, he alone now

faces a voiceless exile. This final focus on the exile's memory of literary community and its partial responsibility is punctuated by pointed allusions to the epigrams of Catullus and Callimachus.

I begin with the similar manners in which the exile describes his previous literary relationship between himself and members of his lost literary community:

Saepe refert animus **lusus grauitate carentes**, **seria** cum liquida **saepe peracta** fide. (*T.* 1.9.9-10)	Often the mind recalls *lusus* lacking seriousness, often it recalls serious things acted out with pure faith.
Seria multa mihi tecum conlata recordor nec data **iucundis** tempora pauca **iocis**. **Saepe** citae longis uisae sermonibus horae, saepe fuit breuior quam mea uerba dies. **Saepe** tuas uenit factum modo carmen ad auris et noua iudicio subdita Musa tuo est. Quod tu laudaras, populo placuisse putabam —hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat— utque meus lima rasus liber esset amici, non semel admonitu facta litura tuo est. (*P.* 2.4.9-18)	Often I remember discussing my serious works with you, yet no little time was given to pleasant jokes. Often, the hours seemed short with long conversations, often the day was shorter than my words. Often a newly composed poem came to your ears and a new Muse was critiqued by your judgment. That which you had praised, I used to think would have been pleasing to the people – this was the sweet reward of fresh critique – that my book would be shaped by a friend's file, and more than once an erasure was made because of your advice.

In both of these passages, the exile continues the theme of *memoria* and reminds the audience that the events he is describing are his recollections (*animus refert*; *recordor*), keeping the following descriptions of literary production within the context of the exile's *memoria*; they are his constructions of his identity, the identity that he wishes to project to his addressees (cf. again Philomela and her construction of her own rape as depicted in her tapestry).[449] Moreover, the literary nature of his *memoria* is highlighted in *P.* 1.9 by

[449] On the use of *referre* as a synonym for *meminisse*, cf. *OLD* 17; in Ovid, cf. *Rem.* 299, *M.* 14.451, *T.* 5.4.39.

the description of his recollection as *refert animus*, which through its metrical position and vocabulary provides an oblique allusion to the opening of the *Metamorphoses*, which uses a version of this phrase to describe the impetus to Ovid's literary production of the epic:

In nova **fert animus** mutatas dicere formas corpora; (Ovid, *M.* 1.1-2)	My mind brings me to speak of forms transformed into new bodies;

In the exilic context, the point of such an allusion is that the main theme of the exile's *memoria* is literary in nature, and the exile refers to the fact that he and his addressees engaged in literary production of both the 'serious' and the 'lighter' variety.

In *P.* 1.9, this antithesis is described in terms of *seria peracta* and *lusus gravitate carentes*. Although one reading of these terms allows for them to be general and not literary-specific,[450] the generically-charged nature of the terms lends itself to a literary reading.[451] If cast in terms of literary production, this antithesis would indicate the exile's participation in the production of both serious (e.g., tragic, epic) and more playful (e.g., elegy, epigram, comedy) works. The term *peracta* was commonly used to describe the

[450] Hellegouarc'h 1972 287 connects these two concepts as a means of describing fidelity and morality, as *gravitas* shows a "rejet des plaisirs faciles". Galasso 1995 *ad P.* 2.4.9-10: "Una delle caratteristiche più evidenti del rapport di amicizia è la compartecipazione di *seria* e *ioci*. Il motive, attestato fin da Ennio (l'amico di Servilio Gemino, *ann.* 239 sg. V.^{2} = 273 sg. Skutsch, con la nota ad loc.: *quoi res audacter magnas parvasque iocumque / eloqueretur*, ricorre significativamente in Cic. *fin.* 2, 85, dove si discute la concezione epicurea dell'amicizia."

[451] Helzle 2003 *ad P.* 1.9.9-10 focuses not on the literary dimension, but on the role of these terms in *amicitia*. Helzle argues that only good friends share *lusus* and *seria*, likening the phrase to the German idiom 'gute und schlechte Zeiten'. Gaertner 2005 *ad. P.* 1.9.9-10 also identifies this possible reading based on *amicitia*: "The present contrast of *lusus gravitate carentes* and *seria cum liquida . . . peracta fide* functions as a polar expression, covering all personal experience between carefree enjoyment and hardship/distress. The couplet thus modifies the common antithesis of *seria* and *ioca* in Latin descriptions of strong loyalty and friendship." cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 906; Ter. *Ad.* 804; Cic. *Fin.* 2.85; Cic. *Off.* 1.51; Cic. *Lael.* 66; Sal. *Jug.* 96.2; Liv. 7.41.3; Quin. *Inst.* 6.3.10; Tac. *Ann.* 2.13; Plin. *Epist.* 8.1.2.

completion of poetic endeavors, but more frequently to describe the act of theatrical performance, as in the following examples from Cicero's *de Senectute*:

Quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur **fabulam** aetatis **peregisse** nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse. (Cicero, *Sen.* 18.64)	The men who have put these distinctions to noble use are, it seems to me, like skilful actors who have played well their parts in the drama of life to the end, and not like untrained players who have broken down in the last act.
Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, **peragenda fabula** est, modo, in quocumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapientibus usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. (Cicero, *Sen.* 19.70)	The actor, for instance, to please his audience need not appear in every act to the very end; it is enough if he is approved in the parts in which he plays; and so it is not necessary for the wise man to stay on this mortal stage to the last fall of the curtain.
Senectus autem aetatis est **peractio** tamquam **fabulae**, cuius defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate. (Cicero, *Sen.* 23.85)	Moreover, old age is the final scene, as it were, in life's drama, from which we ought to escape when it grows wearisome and, certainly, when we have had our fill.

In all of these passages, Cicero uses the metaphor of acting on the stage to describe life, using the terms *peragere* and *fabula* to portray the theatricality of it. Thus, in the Ovidian context, we should understand the term *peracta* as referring to such theatricality, and the modification of it by *seria* as referring to theatrical or artistic productions of a more serious nature, such as tragedy or epic.

Moreover, the connection between *seria peracta* and the *gravitas* which its opposite generic styles lack adds an even further literary dimension. *Gravitas* – like *lusus* below – had strong generic connotations and often referred to the serious nature of epic and tragedy.[452] Although numerous instances of the term's connotations can be

[452] Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.9.9 (p. 476).

found, two examples suffice to make the point here.[453] First, Quintilian, in his description of the tragic style, chooses the term *gravitas* as indicative of the genre and in contrast to the *elegantia* of comedy: ***in tragoediis gravitas**, in comoediis elegantia et quidam velut atticismos inveniri potest,* (*Inst.* 1.8.8). Second, Ovid, in his famous opening to the *Amores,* juxtaposes the serious style of an epic that he had been planning to compose with the slightly lower tenor of the elegies that he actually composed: *Arma **gravi numero** violentaque bella parabam / edere, **materia conveniente modis**. / par erat inferior versus—risisse Cupido / dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.* (*Am.* 1.1.1).

Juxtaposed against the *seria peracta* and their attendant *gravitas* are the *lusus* that lack *gravitas*. Again, as with *seria peracta*, this phrase too is charged with literary resonances. In particular, the term *lusus* is of interest to us, for by Ovid's time the term already had a long association with more subversive or playful genres such as elegy or epigram.[454] Ovid himself makes this connection throughout the exile literature, frequently using *lusus* to describe the earlier amatory works, and the *Ars Amatoria* in particular.[455] Moreover, in his famous epitaph from *T.* 3.3, he identifies his connection

[453] cf. *OLD* s.v. 6c; *TLL* s.v. *gravitas* 2308.58-2309.7; Hor. *C.* 4.9.8: *Stesichorive graves Camenae*; Prop. 1.9.9: *grave dicere carmen*. In Ovid, cf. *T.* 2.381: *omne genus scripti gravitate tragoedia vincit*; *T.* 2.423-24: *utque suo Martem cecinit grauis Ennius ore, / Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*; *T.* 2.553-54: *et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis, / quaeque grauis debet uerba coturnus habet*; *Am.* 3.1.35-36: *'Quid gravibus verbis, animosa Tragoedia,' dixit, / 'me premis? an numquam non gravis esse potes?*

[454] Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.4.4: "***lusus*** covers any playful act from children's games, to love affairs, and to playful poetry." Cf. *TLL* s.v. 1889.74-1890.16. In Ovid, cf. *Ars* 3.809 *lusus* [i.e., the *Ars Amatoria*] *habet finem*; *T.* 2.223; *T.* 1.9.61; *T.* 3.1.7; *T.* 5.1.7; *T.* 3.3.73, in which context the exile calls himself a *tenerorum lusor amorum*.

[455] cf. *T.* 1.9.61-62: *scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen, et istos, / ut non laudandos, sic tamen esse iocos*; *T.* 3.1.5-10: *haec domini fortuna mei est, ut debeat illam / infelix nullis dissimulare iocis. / id quoque, quod viridi quondam male lusit in aevo, / heu nimium sero damnat et odit opus. / inspice quid portem: nihil hic nisi triste videbis, / carmine temporibus conveniente suis*.

with elegy and calls himself a *tenerorum* ***lusor*** *amorum*.[456] In *T.* 2, the exile makes perhaps the most pointed reference in the exile literature to the *Ars* as a *lusus*:

non ea te moles Romani nominis urget,
inque tuis umeris tam leve fertur onus,
lusibus ut possis advertere numen **ineptis**,
excutiasque oculis otia nostra tuis.

* * * * *

Mirer in hoc igitur tantarum pondere rerum
te numquam nostros euoluisse **iocos**?
At si, quod mallem, uacuum tibi forte fuisset,
nullum legisses crimen in **Arte mea**.
(*T.* 2.221-224; 239-242)

The weight of Rome's name is not so light, pressing its burden on your shoulders, that you can turn your power to foolish games, examining my idle things with your own eyes.

* * * * *

So, should I wonder if, weighed down by such great things, you've never unrolled my witticisms? Yet if, by chance, as I wish, you'd had the time you'd have read nothing criminal in my 'Art'.

Here, the exile identifies the *Ars* (*Arte mea*) as an example of a *lusus*, using the same vocabulary (*lusus, iocus*) that describes the types of literary productions undertaken by the exile and his addressees in *P.* 1.9 and 2.4. Moreover, the light and playful nature of these *lusus* is juxtaposed against the weight (*pondere*) of the domestic and foreign affairs that should have been at the forefront of Augustus' mind, an antithesis that is reworked in strictly literary terms in *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 through the comparison of the exile's *lusus* to the ***gravitas*** of the *seria peracta*.

Returning to the context of *P.* 1.9, then, the exile is clearly describing his *memoria* of the interactions between himself and Celsus in terms of literary production: not only is his depiction of his act of remembering (*refert animus*) an allusion to the impetus that drove him to compose the *Metamorphoses*, but the actions in which he remembers engaging with Celsus are literary, both serious (*seria*) and more playful (*lusus*

[456] *T.* 3.3.73-76: hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum / ingenio perii Naso poeta meo; / at tibi qui transis ne sit graue quisquis amasti / dicere "Nasonis molliter ossa cubent.

gravitate carentes) in nature. Moreover, the *lusus* he describes come with associations not only to poetry of the neoteric variety in general, but also to his own *Ars Amatoria* in particular.

The situation the exile recalls in *P.* 2.4 is similar to that of *P.* 1.9 in its literary dimension, but it goes farther than *P.* 1.9 in its explicit description of the exile's interaction with his poetic community, especially in regard to his verbal involvement in the act of poetic revision. The recollection starts in the same fashion as *P.* 1.9: a verb of remembering and the description of a lost literary relationship: ***Seria*** *multa mihi tecum conlata* ***recordor*** */ nec data* ***iucundis*** *tempora pauca* ***iocis***. What the exile recalls are nearly the same actions of *P.* 1.9, as he remembers the production of serious (*seria*) and less serious poetry (*iucundis iocis*). *Seria* brings with it all of the literary resonances that it did in *P.* 1.9 (see above discussion), but here the *lusus* of *P.* 1.9 have been replaced by *iocis*. Although there is a change in vocabulary, the use of *iocis* should be read not as providing an entirely new reading, but as an instance of Ovidian *variatio*. In fact, in the present context, *iocis* and *lusus* are near synonyms; for, as we shall see below in Catullus 50, both terms are used to describe the same neoteric poetry (*lusibus, ludebat, iocis*). Moreover, in the above passage from *T.* 2 the exile himself refers to the *Ars Amatoria* as both a *lusus* and a *iocum*. Therefore, the opening couplet of the exile's *memoria* in *P.* 2.4 should be read as a *variatio* on that in *P.* 1.9 and as an attempt to emphasize the same aspect: the literary nature of the exile's lost community.

At this point, however, *P.* 2.4 diverges from *P.* 1.9 and turns its attention to the specifics of that literary production and introducing another key aspect of the exile's lost community: speech.

Saepe citae longis uisae **sermonibus** horae, saepe fuit breuior quam mea **uerba** dies. (*P.* 2.4.11-12)	Often, the hours seemed short with long conversations, often the day was shorter than my words.

As he recalls the literary nature of his relationship with Atticus, the exile makes an explicit mention of how he had **the ability to speak** when he was involved in the poetic community.[457] Moreover, he states that he used to speak so much that he filled the entire day with his words and conversations (*sermonibus, verba*). Such a reference to his old ability to speak contrasts with the speech loss the exile initially suffered on the night of his exile in *T.* 1.3 and continued to grapple with throughout the rest of the exile literature, eventually attempting to overcome it through the use of letters (cf. Chapter 3). This contrast is made more poignant by the selection of *sermonibus* to describe the verbal interactions of the exile; for, as discussed in Chapter 3, *sermo* was the conventional term used by the exile to describe the character of his letters. They were, in essence, conversations *in absentia*.[458] By using the same terminology to describe his actual, verbal conversations with Atticus, the exile draws attention to the changed nature of his conversations (i.e., from verbal to written), a transformation marking his metamorphosis into an exile and his removal from the poetic community.

[457] cf. *T.* 5.13.27: *utque solebamus consumer longa loquendo / tempora, sermoni deficient die*. For more, see Williams 1991 170ff.
[458] For more, see Chapter 3.

Having called attention to his transformed, exilic state through his rehearsal of a *memoria* in which he was a voiced, active participant in poetic production, the exile makes a final statement about his previous relationship with the poetic community in the third of the three anaphoric couplets:

Saepe tuas uenit factum modo carmen ad auris et noua iudicio subdita Musa tuo est. Quod tu laudaras, populo placuisse putabam —hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat— utque meus lima rasus liber esset amici, non semel admonitu facta litura tuo est. Nos fora uiderunt pariter, nos porticus omnis, nos uia, nos iunctis curua theatra locis. (*P.* 2.4.13-20)	Often a newly composed poem came to your ears and a new Muse was critiqued by your judgment. That which you had praised, I used to think would be pleasing to the people – this was the sweet reward of a fresh eye – and when my book was polished by a friend's file, often were changes made because of your advice. The fora, porticos, road, and curved theatre – in adjoining seats! – saw us all the same.

Here the exile describes the relationship between himself and Atticus as one of mutual poetic revision, again providing a picture of the exile's life when he was a full-fledged member of a poetic community.[459] According to the exile, he used to bring his poetry to Atticus for the sake of revision, as he valued Atticus' opinion as one that would lead to public praise (*Quod tu laudaras, populo placuisse putabam*). Moreover, the exile seems to give Atticus partial credit for the success of his own poetry, stating that the approval of the people was the sweet reward of having Atticus review the work (*hoc pretium curae dulce recentis erat*).

However, both the connection drawn between the exile and Atticus and the attribution of responsibility to Atticus are not simply positive in nature. After giving Atticus 'credit' for the success of his poetry, the exile makes an explicit allusion to one of

[459] Evans 1983 136; Galasso 1995 *ad loc*; Helzle 2003 *ad loc*.

his poems in particular: the *Ars Amatoria*. The locations identified as the regular haunts of Atticus and the exile are the same places that Ovid points to as his prime areas to seduce women in the *Ars Amatoria* (*fora*: *AA* 1.79-88; *porticus*: *AA* 1.67-74; *viae*: *AA* 1.585ff.; *theatra*: *AA* 1.89-134).[460] The specific reference to the *curvis locis* of the theatre confirms the allusion to the *Ars*, as Ovid uses similar phrasing when advising how to get close to a woman during a performance:

Proximus a domina, nullo prohibente, sedeto, Iunge tuum lateri qua potes usque latus; Et bene, quod cogit, si nolis, linea iungi, Quod tibi tangenda est lege puella loci. (*AA* 1.139-142)	Sit next to the lady, with no one keeping you back; join your side to hers as far as possible; and even if you don't like it, it is a good thing that the rows push you close because the girl must be touched by you due to the nature of the place.

Such allusion to the *Ars* leads one to believe that the exile is implying Atticus' editorial involvement with the *Ars*. Moreover, such an involvement would entitle Atticus not only to the fame brought on by the work's success, but also to the anger of Augustus that the exile said the work caused. The exile thus implies that Atticus should be suffering the same fate as he, or at least should be working to effect the exile's return. The desire for such loyalty is hinted at in the couplet following the allusions to the *Ars*:

Denique tantus **amor** nobis, carissime, semper quantus in Aeacide Nestorideque fuit. (*P*. 2.4.21-22)	In sum, such a love was always for us, dearest Atticus, as was in Achilles and Antilochus.

This statement clearly lays out to Atticus what the exile is after. First, the *amor* referenced in the first line of the couplet should be read not so much as a 'true' love, than

[460] Galasso 1995 *ad loc*: "L'insistita, martellante anaphora sottolinea ancora maggiormente l'unione tra i due amici, che si realizza nei luoghi che facevano da sfondo all'incriminata *Ars*." Cf. Owen *ad* 279-300 for a list of the places identified by Ovid as places to pick up women in the *AA*.

as a more literary *amor*, specifically a work of *amor*: the *Ars Amatoria*. Secondly, the myth of Achilles and Antilochus is especially apt for the desire of the exile, as Achilles avenged the death of his close friend Antilochus. Although multiple traditions of this myth exist and the reason for Antilochus' death is different in each, Hyginus' version – roughly contemporary to Ovid – of the tale tells that Antilochus, like Patroclus, was killed by Hector.[461]

If the exile has this version in mind, the meaning of this couplet gains another dimension in keeping with the general argument put forth in both *P.* 1.9 and *P.* 2.4: because of Atticus' involvement in the *Ars*, the work for which the exile was sent into exile by Augustus (= Hector), Atticus should play the role of Achilles to the exile's Antilochus, and should avenge his exile, affecting his return to his lost community. Thus, the exile focuses on his memory of the literary nature of his lost community not only to rehearse his identity as a prior member of it but also to show that it is partially due to a failure of that community that he finds himself in exile and finds his personal *memoria* threatened by his remove from *les cadres sociaux* of his poetic community. As a result, he expects member of his community to remember their prior literary relationship and the responsibility that entailed, and he urges them to fulfill their obligations, affecting his return to the community and returning him to his previous position within the social frameworks of his poetic community.

Yet, in addition to the clear literary resonances made by the use of generically charged vocabulary such as *gravitas* and *lusus* and the literary relationship with its

[461] Hom *Od* 11.468, 24.72; Pind. *P.* 6.28; Strabo 13; Dares, *Phrygius* 34; Paus. 2.18.7-9; 3.19; Hyginus 113-114.

attendant responsibilities, in both *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 the focus of the exile's recollection of his literary production with a fellow poet to whom he is writing creates an allusion to two particular models – both rooted in the tradition of epigram/elegy – that focus on a poet's *memoria* of such literary production and lead to the connection of the tenuous position of the exile's *memoria* with that of Philomela's *memoria*.[462] The first of these models is Catullus' famous poem to C. Licinius Macer Calvus, in which he recalls the literary production and revision shared by the two poets:[463]

Hesterno, Licini, die otiosi multum **lusimus** in meis tabellis, ut conuenerat esse delicatos: scribens **uersiculos** uterque nostrum **ludebat** numero modo hoc modo illoc, reddens mutua per **iocum** atque uinum. (Catullus 50.1-6)	Yesterday, Licinius, at leisure we played much on my tablets, as had been the custom to please us: writing little verselets, both of us kept playing in this meter and that meter, handing back the tablets with changes while joking and drinking.

Catullus recounts for his fellow poet Licinius how they spent the previous day engaging in the playful (*ludere*) literary production of jocular poetry (*versiculos, iocum*). The poem's specific vocabulary and its focus on poetic production and revision have led many commentators to point to Catullus 50 as the model for *P.* 1.9 and 2.4.[464] Indeed, the exilic situation provides situations analogous to the Catullan one, as the exile too recalls

[462] The 'lament' of a friend's death and the recollection of times spent together were traditional *topoi* of *laudationes funebres* or poetic epicedia/epitaphioi. Cf. Kierdorf 1980 64-71, 75-80. In these cases, however, there is a greater emphasis placed on the literary production undertaken by the exile and his friends than in the straightforward obituaries of such *laudationes*.

[463] This Licinius is traditionally identified as C. Licinius Macer Calvus, the son of the annalist C. Licinius Macer and one the *poetae novi.* He is mentioned elsewhere in Catullus 14 and 53. Although few fragments of his poetry are extent (cf. Hollis 2007, fr. 20-42), his *Io* was a fundamental work in the neoteric movement on the same level as Cinna's *Symrna*. Ovid makes direct mention of Calvus and his relationship to Catullus at *T.* 2.431-2: *par* [Catulli licentiae] *fuit exigui similisque licentia Calvi / detexit variis qui sua furta modis.*

[464] Luck *ad T.* 1.9.61f.: "Das Verbum [*lusus*] steht entweder absolut oder hat *carmen, amores, ignes* als Objekt. Die Dichtungen heißen *lusus, blanditiae, ineptiae, ioci, nugae,* der Dichter *lusor*. Die etwas gezierte Selbstverkleinerung scheint ein neoterisches Erbstück zu sein; den deise 'Kleiningkeiten' oder 'Nichtigkeiten' haben Catull in Wirklichkeit viel Mühe gekostet."

his literary relationship with both Celsus and Atticus. In particular, the exile encourages both addressees to help him recreate such a close literary relationship with his lost poetic community by rehearsing his *memoria* of his previous role in the poetic community through an allusion to the ideal poetic relationship of Catullus and Calvus, one which the exile previously had enjoyed with Celsus, Cotta Maximus, and Atticus.

In addition to the allusion to Catullus, the exile also can be seen looking further back to that poem's supposed model, Callimachus' second epigram on Heraclitus of Halicarnassus:

εἶπέ τις Ἡράκλειτε τεὸν μόρον, ἐς δέ με δάκρυ ἤγαγεν, **ἐμνήσθην δ᾽ ὅσσάκις ἀμφότεροι ἥλιον ἐν λέσχηι κατεδύσαμεν**: ἀλλ᾽ ἀσ ὑμέν που ξεῖν᾽ Ἁλικαρνησε ῦτετράπαλαι σποδιή: α ἰδ ἐτεα ἰζώουσιν **ἀηδόνες**, ἥισιν ὁπάντων **ἁρπακτὴς**Ἀ ίδης οὐκ ἐπ ἰχεῖρα βαλεῖ. (*Epigr*. 2.1-4, Pfeiffer)	Someone told me, Heraclitus, of your fate and drove me to tears; I remembered how we both often caused the sun to set in conversation; yet although, you, my Halicarnassean friend, have been ash for quite some time, those nightingales of yours still live, on which Hades, the snatcher of all, will never lay a hand.

In this epigram, Callimachus writes to a certain Heraclitus about his own reaction upon hearing of his fate. Typically, the Heraclitus mentioned here has been identified as the same Heraclitus that Strabo (14.556) refers to as ὁποιητής and Diogenes Laertius (9.17) as ἐλεγείας ποιητής.[465] One of his major poetic compositions was a collection of elegiac poems called the Nightingales, in Greek the Ἀηδόνες. In addition, *Anth. Pal.* 7.465 is generally ascribed to him.[466] At the opening of the epigram, Callimachus states

[465] For more on Heraclitus' career as an 'elegiac poet', see Hunter 1992
[466]

that, when someone mentions Heraclitus, he recalls (ἐμνήσθην) the many times (ὁσσάκις) he had spent with Heraclitus in conversation (ἐν λέσχηι).[467] Callimachus then goes on to make a statement on the immortality of poetry, saying that although Heraclitus has died, his 'Nightingales' (ἀηδόνες) will live on, going beyond the reach of mortal death.[468]

This situation described in the epigram is markedly similar to that of both *P.* 1.9 and 2.4, forming an allusive background unique to each.[469] *P.* 2.4 recreates both the dimensions of literary production and the focus on verbal conversation between the poets[470]: as Heraclitus and Callimachus cause the sun to set with their conversation (ἥλιον ἐν λέσχηι κατεδύσαμεν), the exile and Atticus engage in so many *sermones* (≈ λέσχη) that the day (*dies* ≈ ἥλιον) was made shorter than the exile's words. Likewise, *P.* 1.9 recreates

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ἁ κόνις ἀρτίσκαπτος, ἐπὶ στάλας δὲ μετώπων
σείονται φύλλων ἡμιθαλεῖς στέφανοι
γράμμα διακρίναντες, ὁδοιπόρε, πέτρον ἴδωμεν,
λευρὰ περιστέλλειν ὀστέα φατὶ τίνος. —
ξεῖν', Ἀρετημιάς εἰμι: πάτρα Κνίδος: Εὔφρονος ἦλθον
εἰς λέχος: ὠδίνων οὐκ ἄμορος γενόμαν
δισσὰ δ' ὁμοῦ τίκτουσα, τὸ μὲν λίπον ἀνδρὶ ποδηγὸν
γήρως: ὃν δ' ἀπάγω μναμόσυνον πόσιος.

The earth is newly dug and on the faces of the tomb-stone wave the half-withered garlands of leaves. Let us decipher the letters, wayfarer, and learn whose smooth bones the stone says it covers. 'Stranger, I am Aretemias, my country Cnidus. I was the wife of Euphro and I did not escape travail, but bringing forth twins, I left one child to guide my husband's steps in his old age, and I took the other with me to remind me of him.
(Trans. W.R. Paton)

Hunter 1992 113. This identification is made after the correction of the transmitted ascriptions to ΄Ηράκλτος or ΄Ηρακλείδης.

[467] This line is also alluded to in Vergil *E.* 9.51-51 (*saepe ego longos / cantando puerum memini me condere soles*) and Horace *C.* 2.7.6-7 (*cum quo morantem saepe diem mero / fregi*). Williams 1991 169n3 argues that Vergil's translation of ἐν λέσχηι as *cantando* "indicates that [he] understood λέσχηι in the sense of 'conversation'".

[468] Williams 1991 171n11: "But Callimachus may term Heraclitus' poetry 'nightingales' for symbolic reasons. Firstly, Swinnen, op. cit. 42 takes to be typological on the analogy of ἀ[ηδονίδες] (Aet. fr. 1.16][Pf.]). The latter term characterizes Callimachus' own poetry in contrast to the poetic ideal of the Telchines; so, by terming Heraclitus' poetry ἀηδόνες, Callimachus gives it an aesthetic value, based on his own ideals. Secondly, nightingales sing after dark, so that in the words of MacQueen, op. cit. 52-3, 'the voice of Heraclitus has in his nightingales conquered darkness and death'. Thirdly, as noted by N. Hopkinson, A Hellenistic Anthology (Cambridge, 1988), p. 249, 'the nightingale's song was proverbially a lament; Heraclitus' ἀηδόνες can be imagined as bewailing their own poet's death'."

[469] ibid. 170-173.

[470] ibid. 170: "Ovid's friendship with the Atticus addressed in *P.* 2.4 is reinforced by the shared commitment to literary pursuits".

the exact situation of the epigram, as the exile hears from someone else (Maximus Cotta ≈ τις) that a poet-friend has died, causing him to cry (*lacrimis umida facta meis* ≈ ἐς δέ με δάκρυ) and to remember (*saepe refert animus* ≈ ἐμνήσθην) the literary relationship he had with Celsus.

Yet, unlike *P.* 2.4, *P.* 1.9 also plays off the latter portion of the Callimachean epigram, as it moves from the recollection of literary production to the discussion of the exile's death through exile (more on this below).[471] Immediately after recalling his relationship with Celsus, the exile recalls how Celsus was present on his day of exile, a day described in terms of death:

cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa **ruina** concidit in domini procubuitque caput. Adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit, Maxime, Fortunae nec fuit ipse comes. Illum ego non aliter **flentem mea funera** uidi **ponendus** quam si frater **in igne foret**. (*P.* 1.9.13-18)	When suddenly my house, collapsed in a great ruin, fell on the head of its master. He was there with me, when a great part of me fled, Maximus, and he too was no companion of Fortune. That one I saw crying over my funeral as if a brother had been placed on the pyre.

In these lines, the exile plays not the role of Callimachus, writing about the death of a friend, but the role of Heraclitus, the poet who has died. Like Heraclitus, who is nothing but ash (σποδιή), the exile himself is mourned as if he has been cremated and turned to ash (*ponendus . . . in igne foret*). Moreover, now Celsus becomes the Callimachus figure and cries (*flentem*) over the death of the exile.

With the exile playing the role of Heraclitus, the latter lines of the epigram, which focus on poetic immortality, carry an increased weight. Callimachus states that Heraclitus' poetry, the Ἀηδόνες, would be able to help him conquer death and avoid

[471] ibid. 176-177.

Hades, the snatcher of all (ὁ πάντων ἁρπακτὴς). If these lines are read against the exile's situation, the point would be that the exile's own poetry would help him conquer his exilic death. Moreover, the Callimachean terminology of nightingales (ἀηδόνες) and snatchers (ἅρπάζω) recall a particularly formative story from the exile's own poetry: the Philomela narrative. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Philomela was taken away from her homeland by Tereus, dragged into a remote hut, and brutally raped (ἅρπάζω). To prevent her from telling of the deed, Tereus cut out her tongue and told her family members that she had died, creating a false *memoria* of Philomela's demise. However, through her weaving, described in terms of poetic composition, she was able to reconnect with her family and tell her own version of her *memoria.* Then she, along with her family, was transformed into a bird, specifically into a nightingale (ἀηδόνη). Tereus, on the other hand, was transformed into either a hawk or a hoopoe depending on the narrative version, but in all cases into a bird of prey (ἅρπη). In the exilic poetry, this narrative served as a model for the exile's speech loss and his attempts to reconnect with community through writing (Chapter 3). Therefore, by closely aligning the exile with Philomela, Ovid points to the fact that poetry will provide the means of escaping the death of exile, but especially Philomela's style of poetry, namely writing one's identity and sending it to one's lost community in order to affect reconnection with that community and to replace the *memoria* imposed on one by another with one's own version.

Memoria Exsilii: Creating False Memories

So far, I have analyzed *P.* 1.9 and 2.4 to show that the idea of *memoria* is placed at the thematic forefront. In particular, I have shown that the theme of *memoria* is presented in a tripartite structure. First, the exile broaches the topic by describing how a vision of the addressee comes before his eyes and causes him to recall times that he and the addressee shared before exile. Second, he recalls the specifically literary relationship that existed between himself and his addressee, describing how they used to write poetry of various types. Third, he continues his recollection of literary production, pointing out how he and the addressee used to be in a community of poetic revision and how the addressee used to edit the exile's poetic productions before they were performed for the public. Moreover, I have shown that such a *memoria* of a community of poetic revision can be seen to be an allusion back to poems of Catullus and Callimachus, poems that act to amplify the idea that participation in a literary community was bound up in the idea of *memoria*.

In this final section, I will turn to the self-allusions made by the exile in *P.* 1.9. In *P.* 2.4, the exile concluded his discussion of *memoria* with an allusion to the *Ars Amatoria* and the fact that Atticus, as an editor of that work, should bear part of the responsibility for the effects of that work: namely, the exile's relegation to Tomis. In *P.* 1.9, another allusion is made by the exile, but this time the focus of it is not simply to cause the addressee to remember, but to create a *memoria* and to place it in the addressee's mind as fact. In essence, the exile attempts to replace one *memoria* of his exile with another 'false' *memoria*, one which has been created by him. The *memoria*

that the exile selects as his topic is the night of his exile, which the exile first described in *T.* 1.3.[472]

Again, we return to *P.* 1.9:

Ante meos oculos tamquam praesentis imago
haeret et extinctum uiuere fingit amor.
Saepe refert animus lusus grauitate carentes,
seria cum liquida saepe peracta fide.
Nulla tamen subeunt mihi tempora densius illis
quae uellem uitae summa fuisse meae,
cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina
concidit in domini procubuitque caput.
Adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit,
Maxime, Fortunae nec fuit ipse comes.
Illum ego non aliter flentem mea funera uidi
ponendus quam si frater in igne foret.
Haesit in amplexu consolatusque iacentem est
cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas.
O quotiens uitae custos inuisus amarae
continuit promptas in mea fata manus!
O quotiens dixit: 'Placabilis ira deorum est:
uiue nec ignosci tu tibi posse nega!'
(*P.* 1.9.7-24)

Before my eyes, his image just as if he were present lingers and love makes the dead seem alive. Often the mind recalls *lusus* lacking seriousness, often it recalls serious works performed with pure faith. Still, no times come to mind more often than those, which I wish were the last of my life: when suddenly my house, collapsed in a great ruin, fell on the head of its master. He was there with me, Maximus, when a great part of me fled and he too was no companion of Fortune. That one I saw crying over my funeral as if a brother had been placed on the pyre. He clung to me in embrace, consoled the one lying dead, and mixed his tears together with my own. O how many times, that hated guardian of my bitter life restrained my hands, which were ready to cause my own death! O how many times he said: "The anger of the gods is placable: live and do not deny that you can be forgiven."

As we have discussed in this chapter, *P.* 1.9 opens with a reference to *memoria*, as the exile remembers Celsus and the literary relationship they shared. After these lines, the exile introduces another memory (*nulla subeunt mihi tempora*), one that he describes as more poignant (*densius illis*) than his recollection of literary production: the memory of the night of his exile.[473] In his *memoria*, the exile focuses on the loyalty of Celsus: how he continued to stand by his friend although many other friends had deserted the exile

[472] For a more comphrensive analysis of *T.* 1.3, see Ch. 3 above.

[473] The choice of *subire* as the term for his recollection of the night on which the exile's house was destroyed and he was forced to leave his community is reminiscent of a similar use in *Metamorphoses* 11. In that setting, the sailors on Ceyx's ship, having been terrified at a storm that was tearing apart their ship, think back on the families that they left behind, an act of recollection that is also described with *subire*: *subeunt illi fraterque parensque, / huic cum pignoribus domus et quodcunque relictum est* (*M.* 11.542-43).

(*Adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit*); how he mourned for the exile as if for a brother (*Illum ego non aliter flentem mea funera uidi / ponendus quam si frater in igne foret*); how he kept him from committing suicide, offering advice for how the exiled keep living in hope rather than in despair (*O quotiens . . . O quotiens*). Celsus, in effect, is held up as an ideal friend and as a model whose actions Cotta Maximus is encouraged to follow. Because of such an emphasis on ideal *amicitia*, much of the scholarship on *P.* 1.9 has focused on that aspect.[474]

However, underpinning all of these same references to friendship is an extensive allusion to *T.* 1.3, the poem in which the exile described his actual night of exile.[475] On a basic level, the situation described in *P.* 1.9 is identical to that described in *T.* 1.3: on the night of exile, the exile was surrounded by a small group of friends and family, as many of his other friends had forsaken him (*adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos, qui modo de multis unus et alter erat*, *T.* 1.3.15-16); the exile is described as a corpse, having suffered the 'death' of exile (*egredior (sive illud erat sine funere ferri? / squalidus inmissis hirta per ora comis*, *T.* 1.3.87-88); and all around the exile tears and weeping abounded (*quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant, / formaque non taciti funeris intus erat*, *T.* 1.3.21-22).

In addition to the basic situation, much the same vocabulary is employed in both poems. As mentioned above, both begin with the same image of an *imago* coming to the exile's mind:

[474] Evans 1983 116-117.
[475] Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.9.7-40: "Ovid's memories of Celsus are (apart from some details concerning his wealth and status in 1.9.35-40) largely centered around Ovid's own life. Ovid recalls the time of his departure from Rome and evokes its description in *T.* 1.3."

Cum subit illius tristissima noctis **imago**, quae mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit, (*T.* 1.3.1-2)	Whenever comes to mind the image, most grievous, of that well-known night, on which was my final time in the city . . .
Ante meos oculos tamquam praesentis **imago** haeret et extinctum uiuere fingit amor. (*P.* 1.9.7-8)	Before my eyes, his image just as if he were present lingers and love makes the dead seem alive.

Likewise, the same idiomatic verb for remembering used in *T.* 1.3 (*subit*), is also employed in *P.* 1.9 to describe the specific recollection of the same night of exile (*nulla tamen subeunt mihi tempora*). Beyond the use of the same descriptors for the memory of that night, the same anaphoric *quotiens* . . . *quotiens* appears in both poems:[476]

a! quotiens aliquo dixi properante 'quid urges? uel quo festinas ire, uel unde, uide.' **a! quotiens** certam me sum mentitus habere horam, propositae quae foret apta uiae. (*T.* 1.3.41-44)	Ah! How often I spoke as someone hurried by: "Why do you hasten? Consider whither and whence you are hurrying to go." Ah! How often I lied that I had a set time that was appropriate for the intended journey.
O (a?) quotiens uitae custos inuisus amarae continuit promptas in mea fata manus! **O (a?) quotiens** dixit: 'Placabilis ira deorum est: uiue nec ignosci tu tibi posse nega!' (*P.* 1.9.21-24)	O how many times, that hated guard of my bitter life restrained my hands, which were ready to cause my own death! O how many times he said: "The anger of the gods is placable: live and do not deny that you can be forgiven."

Yet, the most conspicuous connection of *T.* 1.3 and *P.* 1.9 is the similarity between Celsus and the exile's wife. Both are described as mourning for the 'dead' exile

[476] The exclamatory vowels in *P.* 1.9 are uncertain. Helzle *ad P.* 1.9.21-2 makes the conjecture that the '*o quotiens*' should be changed to '*a quotiens*' in order to match the other allusions to *T.* 1.3. Moreover, Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.9.21/23, following Tränkle 1960 149-150 and Goold 1965 68, notes that the exclamatory 'o' seems to be used mostly for an expression of delight or joy, and an exclamatory 'a' tends to indicate pain or sorrow.

and clinging to his body as it is taken out to exile.[477] Moreover, these actions of theirs are described as nearly identical:

Illum ego non aliter **flentem** mea funera uidi ponendus quam si frater in igne foret. **Haesit** in amplexu consolatusque iacentem est cumque meis **lacrimis miscuit** usque **suas**. (*P.* 1.9.17-20)	That one I saw crying over my funeral as if a brother had been placed on the pyre. He clung to me in embrace, consoled the one lying dead, and mixed his tears together with my own.
uxor amans **flentem** flens acrius ipsa tenebat, imbre per indignas usque cadente genas.	My very wife, loving and crying quite bitterly, kept holding me, crying, with a stream of tears falling from both of her cheeks, deserving of more.
* * * * *	* * * * *
tum uero coniunx umeris abeuntis **inhaerens** **miscuit** haec **lacrimis** tristia uerba **suis**. (*T.* 1.3.17-18; 79-80)	Then indeed my wife, clinging to the shoulders of her departing husband, mixed these sad words with her tears.

Both Celsus and the exile's wife are shown weeping over the exile's impending 'death' and mixing those tears with those of the exile (*lacrimae, miscuit*). Moreover, we also see Celsus cling to the exile's corpse just as the exile's wife does (*haerere*). The close relationship drawn between Celsus and the exile's wife continues the portrayal of Celsus as a close friend – one who reacts to his friend's exile not only as his brother would (1.9.18) but also as a wife would - as a model for Cotta Maximus.

Through such connections to *T.* 1.3, it becomes clear that in addition to depicting Celsus as an ideal friend, in *P.* 1.9 the exile is retelling the story of the night of exile from *T.* 1.3. In particular, both versions of the story are described in terms of memory, of a recollection of a factual event. In *T.* 1.3, the exile remembers his night of exile (*cum . . . imago*) and tells us what he remembers actually happened that night. In *P.* 1.9, the exile

[477] Gaertner 2005 *ad P.* 1.9.7-40: "Celsus' pledge to travel to Tomis (1.9.33-34) glances at the suggestion of Ovid's wife (*T.* 1.3.81): *simul ah! Simul ibimus*, and the statement that Celsus wept *ponendus quam si frater in igne foret* (1.9.18) resembles *T.* 1.3.65: *quosque ego dilexi fraterno more sodales*."

again recalls that night, alluding back to the previous story of *T.* 1.3 as a factual recollection. Moreover, this recollection is included in a list of other memories of the exile's relationship with Celsus, which seem to have had some modicum of truth behind them.

By drawing attention to the identification of these stories as memories and by placing them in a list of other 'true' memories, Ovid can be seen engaging in the type of *memoria*-fashioning that we saw with Cicero at the beginning of the chapter. In that instance, Cicero implores Lucceius to manipulate his retelling of Cicero's consulship in order to highlight its positive aspects and to produce a *memoria* that Cicero wanted promulgated. Likewise, Ovid crafts a *memoria* of the night of exile on his terms, one that is a self-referential allusion (*P.* 1.9) to a narrative of exile built on literary topoi (*T.* 1.3). The point of creating such a *memoria* seems to be that Ovid gain control over the story of the exile and to tell it on his terms.

Therefore, as I have shown in this section, the concept of *memoria* is pervasive throughout the exile literature. In the specific examples shown above – *P.* 1.9, *P.* 2.4, and *T.* 1.3 – Ovid engages with *memoria* on multiple levels. First, Ovid has the exile urge his addressees to fulfill the duties of *amicitia* by rehearsing a *memoria* of the exile's identity, reminding them of the activities that each had performed with him before his exile. Then, Ovid describes the night of exile not as it most likely occurred, but as he wants it to be remembered, gaining control over his own *memoria* and creating the *memoria* by which he wants to be remembered.

Conclusions: Returning to *Tristia* 1.1

Throughout this study, I have set out to analyze the importance of the motif of speech loss in Ovid's exile literature and the role it played in his overall poetics of exile. In Chapter 1, I explored the concept of speech and speech loss in the Roman world, identifying the salient features surrounding speech loss as the loss of human community and the loss of the ability to communicate one's identity. In Chapter 2, I analyzed how speech loss was deployed in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, arguing for the topos of speech loss that isolated those very concepts: when a character is transformed into a non-human entity, s/he loses the ability to speak, a loss that results in the subsequent loss of identity and human community. However, such speech loss can be overcome by the use of the written medium to mediate the disconnection, as demonstrated by the examples of Philomela and Io. In Chapter 3, I described how Ovid's exilic persona turned to this topos to portray his own exilic condition. Stripped of speech on the night of his exile (*Tristia* 1.3), Ovid's exilic persona struggles to interact with the inhabitants of Tomis and yearns to return and to communicate with his lost poetic community in Rome. Following the lead of Philomela and Io, he turns to the written word, to epistolography, a genre traditionally described as creating a verbal conversation (*sermo*) through written words (*littera*), as a means of reconnecting with his poetic community. Finally, in Chapter 4, I discussed the significance of why it is the **poetic** community in which the exile is interested, arguing that the goal of reconnecting with that community centered on the idea of memory: 1) so that the exile would be remembered by and hence reconnected with his poetic community, and 2) so that, having regained his place in that poetic community, he

would be able to renegotiate the *memoria* of his exile and take control of his life's narrative.

As a means of concluding this study, I want to return to the text with which we started this study: *Tristia* 1.1. In this poem, programmatic for the entirety of the exile literature, Ovid combines all of the concepts considered in this study in an effort to set the foundation for how his exile literature should be read. As we identified at the outset, Ovid tells his readers that the persona he will put forth in the exile literature should be counted among the changed characters of the *Metamorphoses*:

sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae, nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis. **his mando dicas, inter mutata referri** ***fortunae uultum* corpora posse *meae*,** namque ea dissimilis subito est effecta priori, flendaque nunc, aliquo tempore laeta fuit. (*T.* 1.1.117-122)	Also there are fifteen volumes of changed bodies, songs recently snatched from my ashes. To these I ask you to say that the appearance of my fortune is able to be counted among the changed bodies, for fortune has suddenly been made different from before: now it is lamentable, but was in another time happy.

If Ovid's exilic persona should be considered thus, it follows that the exilic persona is subject the same effects of the type of transformation outlined in the *Metamorphoses*: like the characters from Ovid's *magnum opus*, the exilic persona, once changed, undergoes a loss of speech and a loss of community. These losses lead to the change in Ovid's outlook: what once was happy (*laeta*) is now lamentable (*flenda*).[478]

Moreover, like the speechless characters Io and Philomela, Ovid has the exile attempt to overcome his speech loss and to reconnect with his lost community by turning

[478] Hinds 1985 20-21.

to the written medium. In *Tristia* 1.1, this takes the form of the famous *parvus liber* that is to go where the exile is not allowed: to his lost community.

uade, liber, **uerbisque meis loca grata saluta**: contingam certe quo licet illa **pede**. siquis, ut in populo, **nostri non inmemor** illi, siquis, qui, quid agam, forte requirat, erit: uiuere me **dices**, saluum tamen esse negabis; id quoque, quod uiuam, munus habere dei. atque ita tu tacitus, (quaerenti plura legendum) ne, quae non opus est, forte loquare, caue! protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector, et peragar populi publicus ore reus. tu caue defendas, quamuis mordebere dictis: causa patrocinio non bona maior erit. inuenies aliquem, qui me suspiret ademptum, carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis, et tacitus secum, ne quis malus audiat, optet, sit mea lenito Caesare poena leuis. (*T.* 1.1.15-30)	Go, book, and salute places thankful for my words: with that foot it is surely allowed for me to touch those places. When you are with the people, if there is anyone who has not forgotten us there, if there is anyone who perhaps will ask how I am doing, you will say that I live, but that I am not safe; that the very fact I'm alive is a gift from a god. But otherwise be silent (the one seeking more ought to read) and beware lest you perhaps say something that isn't needed. Immediately the reader, reminded, will recall my indictment, and I shall be borne on the mouth of the people as the accused. Beware of defending me, despite the biting words: **a poor case will prove too much for advocacy.** You will find someone who sighs about my exile, and reads those verses with wet eyes, and wishes, silent, lest he be heard by enemies, that my punishment be lightened by a gentler Caesar.

Here Ovid describes a personified *liber* that will act as a surrogate for the exile who remains in Tomis. The most often remarked upon aspect of this personification is the *pes*-pun, namely the fact that the poet's physical foot is replaced by the *liber*'s metrical one (*quo . . . pede*).[479] However, there is an equally important replacement of the poet's physical voice with that of the *liber*. The exile, speechless due to his transformation, asks the book go to places receptive to his words (*uerbisque meis loca grata*) and to perform the act of salutation typical at the opening of epistles (*saluta*). This line highlights the shift in communicative medium: no longer is the exile able to speak with actual words,

[479] Luck *ad loc*.; Nagle 1980 22, 84; Hinds 1985 19-20.

but instead he has turned to the written letter (i.e., the *liber*) to achieve communication with his lost community. Moreover, the personified *liber* acts out this shift by truly speaking to various people in Rome, as evidenced by the use of *dicere* to describe the *liber*'s communicative technique.[480] Now, not only has the *pes libri* become a surrogate for the *pes poetae*, but the *verba poetae* have transformed into the *verba libri*.

Thus far it should be clear that, in this programmatic poem, Ovid is closely following the topos of speech loss, community loss, and reconnection through writing that he initiated in his *Metamorphoses*. Both the instructions the exile gives to the *liber* and the audience to which the *liber* is directed to speak further this topos and follow the general line of argument proposed in this study; for the *liber* is directed to a specific community and the explicit task of the *liber* is to ensure that the exilic persona is remembered in his lost community; however, the specific *memoria* desired by Ovid is the one he himself has created.

When sending the *liber* back to Rome, the exile gives it explicit instructions regarding whom it should engage in conversation, pointing out two groups to which the *liber* should go (ll. 17-30 above). The first group of people to whom the exile instructs the *liber* to go is the group of those who remember him and want to know about his situation (*siquis ut in populo . . . forte requirat, erit*).[481] The salient feature of this group of people is that they **remember** the exile. As we have seen, the individuals who remember the exile in the *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* - or at least are called to do so - are

[480] Luck *ad loc.* sees this as a Future with Imperative force.

[481] Luck *ad* 17ff.: "Die Vornehmen werden das Buch vielleicht ignorieren; die einfachen Leute sind unbefangen. Daß Ovid auch im Volk Leser hatte, wird niemand bezweifeln. Gerade die Gedichte aus der Verbannung konnten auch ohne höhere literarische Bildung verstanden werden; das Latein ist die gehobene Umgangssprache jener Zeit."

members of the poet's lost community. As an example of a general theme, consider such emphasis on memory in *T*. 5.13 and *P*. 4.6:

Di faciant ut sit temeraria nostra querela,
teque putem falso non **meminisse** mei.
Quod precor, esse liquet: neque enim mutabile robur
credere me fas est pectoris esse tui.
Cana prius gelido desint absinthia Ponto,
et careat dulci Trinacris Hybla thymo,
inmemorem quam te quisquam conuincat amici.
Non ita sunt fati stamina nigra mei.
Tu tamen, ut possis falsae quoque pellere culpae
crimina, quod non es, ne uideare, caue.
utque solebamus consumere longa loquendo
tempora, sermoni deficiente die,
sic ferat ac referat tacitas nunc littera uoces,
et peragant linguae charta manusque uices.
(*T*. 5.13.17-30

The gods make it that my complaint's baseless and that I'm wrong to think you've forgotten me. It's clear what I pray for is so, for it's wrong for me to believe that the strength of your heart would change. Sooner would pale wormwood be absent from icy Pontus and Trinacrian Hybla lack sweet thyme than anyone could convict you of being forgetful of a friend. The threads of my fate are not so dark. Still, take care lest you seem to be what you're not, so that you too can shed the crimes of false guilt. As we used to consume long periods of time with talking, the day eclipsed by conversation, thus now a letter bears tacit voices back and forth, and paper and hands do the work of the tongue.

At si quem laedi fortuna cernis iniqua,
mollior est animo femina nulla tuo.
Hoc ego praecipue sensi, cum magna meorum
notitiam pars est infitiata mei.
Inmemor illorum, uestri non inmemor umquam
qui mala solliciti nostra leuatis ero.
Et prius hic nimium nobis conterminus Hister
in caput Euxino de mare uertet iter,
utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae,
Solis ad Eoas currus agetur aquas,
quam quisquam uestrum qui me doluistis ademptum
arguat ingratum non **meminisse** sui.
(*P*. 4.6.39-50)

But if you see anyone wounded by unjust fate, no woman is more tender than your heart. I felt this especially when the larger part of my friends denied knowledge of me. I shall be forgetful of them, but never forgetful of you, who relieve my evils of anxiety. The Hister, all too close, will sooner turn its course back into its source from the Euxine sea, and the chariot of the sun be driven towards the Eastern sea, as if the age of the Thyestean banquet were returned, than anyone of you who were pained at my exile will prove me to be ungrateful and forgetful of you.

In the first example, the exile writes a mild reproach to a friend for not writing.[482] This friend, however, is likely to have been a fellow poet due to the use of the topos of 'closing the day in conversation' that we saw earlier in *P*. 1.9 and 2.4 as an allusion to the poetic activity in Callimachus *Epigram* 2 and Catullus 50. This likely poet is identified not only by his previous verbal relationship with the exile but also by his memory of the exile, the salient characteristic marking him as a friend and member of the exile's lost community.

Likewise, in the second example, taken from a letter addressed to a certain Brutus, memory is used to describe the most salient characteristic of the exile's friends.[483] Since Brutus remembered the exile and continued to support him after many of those associated with the exile had forsaken him, the exile professes that although he will forget those who forsook him, he will always be mindful of Brutus (*vestrii non inmemor umquam*), using a nearly identical phrase to that which he employs in *T.* 1.1 (*nostri non inmemor illi*). It is likely, therefore, that the first group to which the exile instructs the *liber* to speak is his poetic community of friends, as they are ever-mindful of him.

The second group of people to which the *liber* is allowed to go is also likely to be his lost poetic community, as the exile again touches on a characteristic of the addressees from his community: the desire that the exile's penalty be lightened by Augustus (*at*

[482] Evans, Williams. Luck *ad T.* 5.13: "Das relativ kurze Gedicht soll einen Freund, der offenbar in Rom für ihn tätig ist daran erinnern, daß er schon lange nicht gescrieben hat. Der Brief gleicht 4,7; auch dort weigert sich Ovid, zu glauben, daß man ihn vergessen hat." [].
[483] Evans 158-159.

tacitus . . . poena levis) and the tearful sorrow for their lost friend (*invenies . . . ista genis*).[484] Again, consider an example of these characteristics taken from *P.* 1.9.

cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina
concidit in domini procubuitque caput.
Adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit,
Maxime, Fortunae nec fuit ipse comes.
Illum ego non aliter flentem mea funera uidi
ponendus quam si frater in igne foret.
Haesit in amplexu consolatusque iacentem est
cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas.
O quotiens uitae custos inuisus amarae
continuit promptas in mea fata manus!
O quotiens dixit: 'Placabilis ira deorum est:
uiue nec ignosci tu tibi posse nega!'
Vox tamen illa fuit celeberrima: 'Respice quantum
debeat auxilium Maximus esse tibi.
Maximus incumbet, quaque est pietate, rogabit
ne sit ad extremum Caesaris ira tenax,
cumque suis fratris uires adhibebit et omnem,
quo leuius doleas, experietur opem.'
(*P.* 1.9.13-30)

When suddenly my house, collapsed in a great ruin, fell on the head of its master, he was there with me, Maximus, when a great part of me fled and he too was no companion of Fortune. That one I saw crying over my funeral as if a brother had been placed on the pyre. He clung to me in embrace, consoled the one lying dead, and mixed his tears together with my own. O how many times, that hated guard of my bitter life restrained my hands, which were ready to cause my own death! O how many times he said: "The anger of the gods is placable: live and do not deny that you can be forgiven." However, the most frequent comment was: "Consider how much help Maximus will be for you. Maximus will take the trouble (such is his loyalty) and will ask that the harsh anger of Caesar not be taken to extreme. He, along with his own, will exert his brother's influence, exploring every means by which you may grieve more easily."

In this passage, we return to the relationship between the exile and his poet-friend Albinovanus Celsus. The exile relates that because Celsus was such a good friend, he cried as a family member would at his 'funeral'. Thus, at Celsus' actual funeral, the exile feels an obligation as a friend to shed the same tears for Celsus. Moreover, the friendly action of the exile is described in much the same fashion as the description of the second group to which the *liber* should go in *T.* 1.1 (*iure igitur lacrimas Celsi libamus adempto*

[484] Luck *ad T.* 1.1.29f.: "Ovid denkt an schadenfrohe Feinde, die mit seinem bisherigen Unglück noch nicht zufrieden sind. Wer Sympathie für den Dichter äußert, könnte denunziert werden." Cf. *T.* 1.8, which has the sympathy of an ideal friend as its major theme.

≈ *qui me suspiret ademptum carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis*). Such similarity in vocabulary and theme lends itself to the fact that the group to which the exile is referring in *T.* 1.1 is, in fact, the same group to which Celsus belongs: the exile's lost poetic community.

Therefore, as can be seen by the groups to which the *liber* is told to go, the speechless exile turns to the written voice of the *liber* to reconnect with his lost poetic community. The exile's instructions to tell the community of the exile's fate serve to call the exile to the collective mind of the community in order that he not be forgotten. Yet, in addition to securing the continuance of his *memoria* in the poetic community through the written word, the exile also makes a comment about the nature of the *memoria* he wants to be remembered.

At the beginning of *T.* 1.1, the exile makes explicit mention of the specific *memoria* he wants the *liber* to bear to his community at Rome, identifying it through an allusion back to his description of the exilic *vultus* with which we started our discussion in Chapter 1:

Parue—nec inuideo—sine me, liber, ibis in urbem:
ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!
uade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse;
infelix habitum temporis huius habe.
nec te purpureo uelent uaccinia fuco—
non est conueniens luctibus ille color—
nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur,
candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos:
fortunae memorem te decet esse **meae.**
(*T.* 1.1.1-10)

Small book – I do not envy you – you will go without me into the City: alas, because your master is not allowed to go! Go, but unrefined, as is fitting for an exile; unlucky, take up the customs of this time. Neither let berries cover you with purple dye – that color is not appropriate for grieving – nor let your title be marked in vermillion, your page in cedar, nor may you bear brilliant horns on your black brow. These accoutrements decorate fortunate booklets: it is fitting that you be mindful of my fortune.

sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque uolumina, formae, nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis. his mando dicas, inter mutata referri **fortunae uultum** corpora posse **meae**, namque ea dissimilis subito est effecta priori, flendaque nunc, aliquo tempore laeta fuit. (*T.* 1.1.117-122)	Also there are fifteen volumes of changed bodies, songs recently snatched from my ashes. To these I ask you to say that the appearance of my fortune is able to be counted among the changed bodies, for the fortune has suddenly been made different from before: now it is lamentable, but was in another time happy.

Having given the *liber* instructions on how it should present itself to the community to which it will be sent, the exile states that this appearance should match the *memoria* the *liber* will give regarding the exilic situation. Since the exile's condition is unhappy and unsafe, devoid of the culture of Rome, the *liber* should look worn, unadorned, avoiding all colors and styles that are not appropriate for the grief of an exile (*exulis, luctibus*).[485] However, the fact that the exile calls such attention to a description of the *liber* that highlights its lack of adornment, emphasizes that adornment and makes the portrayal of the *liber* seem all the more artificial. In fact the mention of the smudges (*liturarum*) in *Tristia* 1.1 (*neve liturarum pudeat*, 13) and how they would make whoever saw them think (*sentiat*) that they were made by the exile, calls attention to the very fact that they are, in fact, **fake** tears. Therefore, *T.* 1.1 – and the exile literature as a whole – opens with a statement of how artificial the depiction of the exilic situation will be, an artificiality that is to form the foundation for the *memoria* presented by the *liber* to the exile's community.

However, the description of the *memoria* to be recounted by the *liber* as that of the exile's fortune (*fortunae memorem . . . meae*), makes an allusion to the end of *T.* 1.1

[485] Luck *ad T.* 1.1.5-8.

and gives us the final piece of the *memoria* that is to be described. The passage in which we argued for the presence of an exilic persona in Chapter 1 contains a pentameter line that is aligned with the *memoria* the exile wants to be told (*fortunae vultum . . . meae*). The placement of the words in these two lines draws *vultus* and *memor* into an extremely close relationship. Against the background of the physical artificiality of the *liber*, the *memoria* that is to be transmitted by the *liber* is equated with something equally artificial: the exilic persona. Just as the *vultus* is a **constructed face**, a poetic depiction of Ovid in exile, the *memoria* told in the *liber* is a **constructed portrayal** of what the exilic persona, the exilic *vultus*, does in exile.

In essence, the levels of narrative construction are twofold. On the basic, intra-narrative level, Ovid constructs an exilic persona (*vultus*) in terms of the speech loss topos of the *Metamorphoses* and has that exilic persona act out that topos by attempting to communicate with a lost community through the written voice of the *liber*, a *liber* by which the exilic persona can effect his return to the *memoria* of his community on the intra-narrative level. On a second, extra-narrative level, Ovid the poet uses the intra-narrative story of the exilic persona to fashion his own *memoria* of exile, his own version based on how he wants to be remembered. This extra-narrative level is similar to the desires portrayed in Cicero's letter to Lucceius, which we discussed at the outset of this chapter: that Lucceius create a story of Cicero's consulship on Cicero's own terms, highlighting the aspects that Cicero wants to be prominent, and downplaying those he wishes to consign to oblivion. Like Cicero, Ovid seeks to seize control of his *memoria* from the hands of others and to present a story of his exile on his own terms.

Who these others are and what *memoria* of Ovid's exile they might have been promulgating is impossible to recover, not least because evidence of Ovid's exile either independent of Ovid or not dependent upon his own description of his exile is not extant; however, an interesting phrase, again in *T.* 1.1, does present a possible challenge that Ovid's *memoria* seeks to overcome. Between the descriptions of the two groups to which the *liber* should engage is a warning not to say too much lest the reader recall the exile's crimes:

atque ita tu tacitus, (quaerenti plura legendum)
ne, quae non opus est, forte loquare, caue!
protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector,
et peragar populi publicus ore reus.
(*T.* 1.1.21-24)

But otherwise be silent (the one seeking more ought to read) and beware lest you perhaps say something that isn't needed. Immediately the reader, reminded, will recall my indictment, and I shall be borne on the mouth of the people as the accused.

The second couplet of this passage, in particular, speaks to the *memoria* that Ovid wishes to be remembered as well as the one that he perhaps is attempting to downplay. This couplet describes the sequence of recollection that will begin for the readers of the exile literature, if the *liber* says too much: 1) the reader (*lector*) will be reminded (*admonitus*)[486] of the indictment that led him to be sent into exile (*mea crimina*); 2) consequently, the exile will be remembered (*peragar populi ore*) by the people as one accused of a crime (*publicus reus*). As such, the *memoria* that Ovid is attempting to suppress with his own is one in which he has been publicly convicted of *crimina* and one in which his *memoria* will be stained by those convictions. As readers of the *Tristia*

[486] For orthography, cf. Varro *L.* 6.49: *Ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria; sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis. Ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta.* For the implications of such orthography, see Maltby 1991 and Feldherr 2000 219.

know, it is these convictions that Ovid attempts to refute in *Tristia* 2, a work styled as a defense speech that professes that at most Ovid is guilty of an *error* and certainly not deserving of the harsh punishment of exile that a *publicus reus* would deserve.

Ovid professes the competition between his *memoria* and the one offered to the exile by an allusion to the sphragis of the *Metamorphoses,* a section that also speak to Ovid's *memoria*:

Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas. cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi: parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum, **quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris**, **ore legar populi**, perque omnia saecula fama, siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam. (*M.* 15.871-879)	I have now produced a work that neither the anger of Jove nor fire nor iron nor greedy old age will be able to destroy. Let that day, that only has power over my body, end, when it will, my uncertain span of years: however, I, everlasting, shall be borne beyond the high stars by a greater part of me, and my name will be indelible, and wherever Roman power spreads over conquered lands, I shall be read by the mouth of the people, and I shall live through all ages, if the prophecies of seers have any truth.

In the sphragis, Ovid states that he has created a poetic work that is not subject to physical destruction and that will continue to live on beyond the lifespan of the poet. Through poetry, then, Ovid can ensure that his *memoria* will be preserved. However, the exact extent of Ovid's *memoria* is qualified in the line *quaque patet domitis Romana potential terries*. Ovid's *memoria* only will be able to live on as long as the community to which he belongs is around to remember it. As such, Ovid clearly states that his poetry is only able to preserve his *memoria* as long as it has – in Halbwachs' terms – *les cadres sociaux* of Roman collective memory to contain it.

Returning to *T.* 1.1., Ovid makes an allusion to the sphragis of the *Metamorphoses* through the manner in which he describes the effect of the *liber* on his *memoria*. Just as he is able to be read by the mouth of the people (*ore legar populi*) through the *Metamorphoses*, he fears he will be borne on the mouth of people as a criminal (*peragar populi . . .ore*) and that the charges levied against him would forever tarnish his *memoria*. Moreover, by alluding to this particular portion of the sphragis, Ovid also reminds his audience of the importance played by society in the creation and maintenance of *memoria*. It is only through reconnecting with his lost poetic community in Rome that Ovid can continue to exist in *les cadres sociaux* and, subsequently, retain the ability to be remembered and to remember. Thus, it is *memoria* that provides the impetus for Ovid's exilic writings, writings that portray his attempts to hold onto his place in the collective memory of Rome through the depictions of his exilic persona as speechless and removed from his community.

Indeed, it seems as if Ovid was successful in reconnecting to his *cadres sociaux* and in being remembered on his own terms, as the aspects of that *memoria* – speech loss, community, transformation – became some of the dominant means of discussing exile after Ovid. Seneca and Martial used speech loss to describe their exiles from their homeland.[487] Later, Rutilius Namatianus looked to the concept of transformation to describe his separation from his native Gaul.[488] Ovidian depictions of exile also came to form part of the basis for early Christian ideas of the itinerant life as manifesting exile

[487] Hinds 2011 and 2007.
[488] Tissol 2002.

from God.[489] All this attests to the power of Ovid's *memoria* and the popularity of his poetry. Yet, as stated at the outset of this dissertation, Ovid's description of the exile was a persona built on the accretion of exilic topoi that came before him. Ovid's innovation lay in the collection of these topoi into a cohesive metaphor for exile based around the idea of speech loss, community, and memory. Through that metaphor, Ovid was ultimately successful in overcoming his exilic death and voicelessness. Far from remaining *mutus*, Ovid found his voice through his poetry and the *memoria* described in it, a *memoria* that was carried *ore populi*, ensuring Ovid's place within his community for as long as Rome held sway, and beyond.

[489] Dietz 2005.

Appendix A

Instances of Speech Loss in the *Metamorphoses*

Below are listed the characters who undergo a transformation that subsequently leads to their speech loss. They are listed alphabetically, with their location in the *Metamorphoses*. The characters in **bold** are discussed in detail in this paper and are noted with their page on which they are discussed.

Appendix B: Uses of *mutus* in Latin Literature

Lucilus
- *Saturae*
  - 26.672

Naevius
- *Tragoediae*
  - 25

Plautus
- *Bacchides*
  - 128
  - 1138
  - 1202
- *Vidularia*
  - 91
- *Poenulus*
  - 876
- *Rudens*
  - 865
  - 1113
- *Aululariа*
  - 125
- *Captivi*
  - 480
- *Persa*
  - 240
  - 242
- *Mercator*
  - 494
  - 630
- *Miles Gloriosus*
  - 664
- *Truculentus*
  - 829
- *Trinummus*
  - 1005

Terence
- *Andria*
  - 40
  - 463
- *Eunuchus*
  - 417
  - 609
- *Heauton Timorumenos*
  - 748

Accius
- *Tragoediae*
  - 315
  - 551

Catullus
- 64.186
- 68B.145
- 96.1
- 101.4

Cicero
- *In Verrem*
  - 2.189.5
  - 3.96.2
  - 5.171.6
- *Pro Caecina*
  - 8.8
- *Pro Cluentio*
  - 181.10
- *In Catilinam*
  - 3.10.21
  - 3.26.7
- *Pro Flacco*
  - 6.6
- *Pro Sestio*
  - 128.16
- *In Vatinium*
  - 8.5
- *Pro Milone*
  - 50.5
- *De Inventione*
  - 1.109.1
  - 2.1.10
  - 2.2.14
  - 2.29.1
- *De Oratore*
  - 2.160.3
  - 3.26.8
- *De Partitione Oratoria*
  - 55.7
- *Brutus*
  - 68.6

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